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English Reprints

SIR THOMAS MORE

Utopia

Originally Printed in Latin, 1516

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

RALPH ROBINSON

SOMETIME FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

His Second and Revised Edition, 1556: preceded by the Title and Epistle of his First Edition

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER

F.S.A. ETC. LATE EXAMINER IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

LONDON
A. CONSTABLE AND CO. LTD.
1906

generous *diplomate.* Founder of the College *of the three languages* (Latin Greek, Hebrew), at Louvain. He wrote a letter to More, *not translated by Robinson.*

GERARD BRONCHROST, of Nimeguen in Latin NOVIOMAGUS [b. 1494—d. 1570]. Sometime Mathematical Professor at Rostock, wrote a short poem, *see p.* 167.

CORNELIUS SCHRYVER, latinized GRAPHÆUS [b. 1482—d. 19 Dec. 1558] made in 1533 secretary to the municipality of Antwerp, also contributed a short poem, *see p.* 167.

WILLIAM BUDE, latinized BUDEUS or BUDÆUS [b. 1467—d. 23 Aug. 1540] the most learned Frenchman of his time. His letter to Lupset first appeared in the Paris edition of 1518, *not included by Robinson.*

THOMAS LUPSET [b. 1498—d. 27 Dec. 1532] while studying at Paris edits second edition of *Utopia.* Afterwards becomes Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford.

Utopia is worthy of multiformed ſtudy. Not only from its reflection of the character, principles, and merry wit of its author; from its propoſed ſolutions of ſuch ſocial problems, as the ſcarcity or overplus of population, the prevention of famines, and the like: but alſo from its reference of the condition of the poor, eſpecially the 'bondmen,' the then dying out 'villenage' of England; from its alluſions to the late, as well as to the preſent Engliſh king; from its ſurvey of Continental politics in 1516: and on other accounts.

The furtheſt diſcovery of Amerigo Veſpucci in his fourth voyage, along the coaſt-line of Brazil, appears to have been Cape Frio. Sir Thomas More apparently refers to Deodati's collection, in ſpeaking of 'thoſe iiii. voyages that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes;' which, in Latin, was firſt publiſhed in 1507, under the title of *Qvattvor Americi Veſpvtii Navagationes.* Near the end of this tract is the following account of what occurred on 3 April, 1504.

Relictus igitur in caſtello præfato Chriſticolis. xxiiij. et cum illis. xij. machinis ac alijs plurimus armis/ vna cum prouiſione pro ſexe menſibus ſufficiente/ . . .

On this paſſage More hangs his whole fiction. This is the carefully concealed ſtarting-point of the imaginary portion of his work. Thence the Portugueſe Hythlodaye wanders to the iſland of 'Nowhere,' which to More's mind was 'beyond the line equinoctial' between Brazil and India. There for five years and more Hythlodaye ſtudied the laws and habits of a community (allowing the very low average of 20 perſons to each of the 6000 houſeholds of the 54 cities) of 6,500,000

perſons; not including their countrey population or outlying 'forreyne towns.' At length, returning home from India in the Portugueſe fleet, Hythlodaye is repreſented as introduced by Peter Ægidius to More in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral: whence all three adjourn to the garden in Sir Thomas' houſe, where, on a bench 'covered with torues' they, with John Clement, liſten a whole day to the ſtory of Hythlodaye: the contents of the firſt book being recounted before dinner: and thoſe of the ſecond between dinner and ſupper.

Hythlodaye may well ſay 'that this nation tooke theii beginninge of the Grekes, bicauſe their ſpeche . . . . kepeth dyuers ſignes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magiſtrates:'* as, for example, the following:—

ENGLISH.	LATIN.		GREEK.
Utopia	Utopia [=Nusquama]		οὐ, *no*; τόπος, *place*.
Hythlodaye	Hythlodæus	patro-	ὕθλος [=nugæ] *nonſenſe*.
Achoriens	Archorii	nymic	ἄχορος, *joyleſs*, *wretched*.
Macariens	Macarensii	forms of	μάκαρ, *bleſſed*, *happy*.
Amaurot	Amaurotus		ἀμαυρός, *ſhadowy*, *unknown*.
Anyder	Anydrus		ἄνυδρος, *waterleſs*.
Phylarch	Phylarchus		φῦλος αρχὴ, *chief of the tribe*.

There is an eſſential difference of purpoſe in the ſomewhat ſimilar works of Plato and More. In the *Republic*, Plato, in the perſon of Socrates, endeavours 'thoroughly to inveſtigate the real nature of juſtice and injuſtice,' by firſt inveſtigating their character in cities, and afterwards by applying 'the ſame inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart of the greater as it exiſts in the form of the leſs.'† More, in the perſon of Hythlodaye, looking round the world, perceives nothing 'but a certein conſpiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth.'‡ Plato endeavours to attain to an exact idea of an abſtract vertue: More ſeeks to deviſe a ſyſtem in which the poor ſhall not periſh for lack, nor the rich be idle through excuſe of their riches: in which *every one* is *equally* of the commonwealth, and in which the commonwealth poſſeſs only a common wealth.

* *p.* 118. † *The Republic of Plato.* Ed. by J. L. DAVIES, M.A., and D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A. *p.* 52. 3rd Ed. 1866. ‡ *p.* 159.

Circumſtances

connected with the earlier iſſues

of

UTOPIA.

Referred to in *Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.* Arranged and Catalogued by Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A. London, 1864.

1515. [Feb. ?] [London?] MORE to ERASMUS. *Letters, &c.* ii. 430.
More's embassy has been successful, but tedious; has been away more than six months. . . . Has formed a close intimacy with Pet. Giles [Ægidius] of Antwerp.

1516. Oct. 31. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 777.
The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* is popular everywhere. Is glad that Peter [Ægidius] likes his *Nusquama* [Utopia]. Wishes to hear if Tunstal approves of it, and other judges.

1516. Nov. 12. Louvain. GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS (of Nimeguen) to ERASMUS. ii. 793.
His friend Theodoricus [Martin] will undertake to print the *Utopia*. Paludanus will show him a cut of the island by a great painter, if Erasmus desire any alterations.

1516. Nov. 18. Brussels. ERASMUS to PETER ÆGIDIUS. ii. 796.
Utopia is in the printer's hands.

1516. [?] Mechlin. JEROME BUSLIDANUS to MORE. ii. 814.
In praise of his *Utopia*.

1516. [?] London. MORE to PETRUS ÆGIDIUS. ii. 896.
Letter. Translated by Robinson at *pp.* 21-26.

[1516. Dec.? The Editio princeps appears. *Libellvs vere avrevs nec minvs salvtaris qvam festiuus, de optimo reip. statu. deque noua Insula Vtopia.* . . . It has no pagination. (1) First comes the picture-chart of the island above referred to; (2) Then the Utopian alphabet, in which A to L are represented by circles or curves; M by a triangle; and N to Y by rectangles or portions thereof: dashes being used in connection with these for further diversity. (3) Then we have Anemolius' Utopian Hekastichon, *see p.* 167; (4) Then Ægidius' letter to Busleyden, *see pp.* 163-166; (5) Then another letter to him, from John Paludanus, who also contributes a poem; neither of which were included in Robinson's translation; (6) Then a poem by Girardus Noviomagus, *De Utopia, see p.* 167; (7) Then the poem of Cornelius Graphæus, *Ad lectorem, see p.* 167; (8) Then Busleyden's letter to Thomas More, (not included in Robinson's translation); (9) Then More's letter to Ægidius, *see pp.* 21-26; (10) Then the Text, in two books.]

1517. [?] MORE to TUNSTALL. ii. 1541.
His last letters were the most delightful he ever received from him, as they spoke so highly of his Republica (*Utopia*). Trusts they were as sincere as candid. . . . . Was afraid, among his many avocations, he would not have time for such trifles, nor could he have done so except out of partiality. Is glad he is pleased with the work, and not less for his candid advice.

1517. Jan. 13. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 891.
Begs Erasmus will thank Paludanus and Giles [Ægidius].

1517. Feb. 24. Antwerp. ERASMUS to WILLIAM COPE. ii. 953.
Begs him to send for More's *Utopia*, if he has not yet read it, and wishes to see the true source of all political evils. [This proves the publication of the first edition before this date.]

1517. Mar. 1. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 958.
Sends one letter to Marlianus, who imagined that the first book of *Utopia* was written by Erasmus. . . . . As soon as More has corrected the *Utopia*, Erasmus will send the MS. to Basle or Paris.

1517. Mar. 8. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 963.
'Send the *Utopia* at your earliest opportunity.' A burgomaster at Antwerp is so pleased with it that he knows it all by heart.

1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 913.
Sent his *Utopia* some time since, and is delighted to hear it will come out in a magnificent form.

1517. July 31. Paris. GULIELMUS BUDÆUS to THOMAS LUPSET. ii. 1124.
Thanks him for a copy of More's *Utopia*. . . . Long commendation of the *Utopia*. [Printed in both editions of 1518.]

1517. Aug. 25. Louvain. ERASMUS to JOHN FROBENIUS. ii. 1147.
Sends . . . *Utopia* for Frobenius to print.

1517. [?] ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1090.
Has sent More's *Epigrams* and *Utopia* to Basle.

1517. Aug. 28. Antwerp. FRANCIS CHIEREGATO to ERASMUS. ii. 1151.
On his leaving England for Rome, to avoid the sweating sickness, touched at Antwerp and heard that Erasmus was staying with Petrus Ægidius, secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. On calling heard that Erasmus had started the day before for Louvain.

1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1155.
Is in the clouds with the dream of the government to be offered him by his Utopians; fancies himself a grand potentate, with a crown and a Franciscan cloak *(paludamentum)*, followed by a grand procession of the Amauri. Should it please Heaven to exalt him to this high dignity, where he will be too high to think of common acquaintances, he will still keep a corner in his heart for Erasmus and Tunstall; and should they pay him a visit to Utopia, he will make all his subjects honor them as is befitting the friends of majesty. The morn has dawned and dispelled his dream, and stripped off his royalty, plunging him down into his old mill-round at the Court.

1517. Aug. 31. Louvain. ERASMUS to TUNSTAL. ii. 1154.
Has taken up his abode at Louvain, and is on good terms with the theologians. Is staying with Paludanus, his ancient friend, but wants to find more room for his books.

1517. Sept. 3. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1157.
Sends his *Utopia (Nusquamam nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mitto)*.

1517. Sept. 15. Paris. THOMAS LUPSET to ERASMUS. ii. 1162.
Intends getting a new edition of More's *Utopia* printed.

1517. Dec. 15. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1201.
Expects his *Utopia*.

1518. Mar. 5 Louvain. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1238.
The printers at Basle excuse their delay in the *Utopia* by reason of the preface added by Budæus. [This is the *third* edition.] Has seen a French edition of the *Utopia*. [Lupset's edition, printed by Gilles de Gourmont at Paris, must therefore rank as the *second* in point of time, but is only a reprint of the Louvain edition of 1516.]

1518. Nov. [Date of the Basle edition, *third* in point of time, *second* as regards authorship. It omits Paludanus' letter and poem of the first edition, and has in addition the above mentioned letters from Erasmus to Frobenius, and from Budé to Lupset. This edition therefore embodying also More's corrections of the previous year, is at once the most complete and most correct published in his lifetime.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Utopia.

* Editions not seen.

For the earliest Latin editions, see *pp.* 6, 7. Space does not permit detailing other Latin, or the French, German, Italian, and Spanish editions that have appeared.

ENGLISH EDITIONS.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

RALPH ROBINSON'S TRANSLATION.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1 1551. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Earliest translation:* see title at *p.* 11.

2 1556. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Second and revised translation:* see title at *p.* 17.

3 1597. London. 1 vol. 4to. A most pleasant fruitfull and wittie worke, . . of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia. And now this third edition, newly corrected and amended.

4 1624. London. 1 vol. 4to. Sir T. More's Utopia . . . Now after many Impressions, newly corrected and purged of all errors hapned in the former edition. Printed by BER. ALSOP: who dedicates it to *Cressacre More*, of *More place* in *North Mimes* in the countie of *Hertford*, Esquire; next in Bloud to Sir *Thomas More*; . . .

5 1639. London. The Commonwealth of Utopia. . . . Another edition of 1 vol. 12mo. No. 4.

14 1808. London. 1 vol. 4to. Utopia . . . With copious Notes, and a Biographical and Literary Introduction. By the Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, F.S.A. A reprint of the text of 1639, No. 5, which is itself a reprint of Alsop's of 1624: collated with Edition of 1551, No. 1.

18 1 Mar. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints:* see title at *p.* 1.

BP. GILBERT BURNET'S TRANSLATION.

I. *As a separate publication.*

6 1684. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia . . . . translated into English.

7 1737. Dublin. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia. . . . To this edition is added, a short account of Sir Thomas More's Life and his Trial.

8 1743. Glasgow. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia or the Happy Republic; a Philosophical Romance, in two books.

9 1751. Oxford. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia . . . . Revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd by THOMAS WILLIAMSON.

10 1753. Oxford. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia . . . The whole revis'd, corrected, and improv'd by A GENTLEMAN OF OXFORD. A reprint of No. 9.

12 *1808. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia or the Best state of a Commonwealth, *Dibdin*, *clxxix of No.* 14.

16 *1849. London. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia or the Happy Republic, *London Catalogue.*

17 1850. London. 1 vol. 12mo. *The Phœnix Library*, selected by JOHN MINTER MORGAN. Utopia, or The Happy Republic.

II. *With other works.*

11 1758. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More . . . To which is added, his History of Utopia, ... with notes historical and explanatory by F. WARNER, LL.D.

15 1838. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *The Masterpieces of Prose Literature.* Vol. iv. Utopia: or the Happy Republic, with Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis.* With a preliminary discourse by J. A. ST. JOHN, Esqre.

ARTHUR CAYLEY'S (the younger) TRANSLATION.

II. *With other works.*

13 1808. London. 2 vols. 4to. Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new translation of his *Utopia*, his History of King Richard III., and his Latin Poems. *Utopia* occupies ii. 1-145.

The

LIFE and TRAVELS

of

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE.

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* Probable or approximate dates.

Based chiefly—besides the present work—on *Amerigo Vespucci, Son caractère, ses ecrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations;* by F. A. DE VARNHAGEN, Brazilian Minister to Peru, Chile, and Ecuador, &c. Lima, 1865, fol. See also *The Life and Voyages of Americus Vespucius*, by C. E. LESTER and A. FOSTER. New York, 1846, 8vo.

The same Raphael Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke tongue. . . . . His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugal borne). *p.* 29. As concerning my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. *p.* 33.

As concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I trauailed abroade aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites [Polyleritæ], *p.* 47.

1494. April. The King of Spain throws open the trade and navigation of the Indies to all ships taking their departure from Cadiz.

*1495. 'There [*i.e.* in England] I taried for the space of. iiii. or .v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westerne Englishe men made agaynst their King.' *p.* 36.

He stays with Cardinal Morton. At *pp.* 37–54, he gives an account of a table-talk, one day while he was in his house.

1497. May 10. The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci [b. 9 Mar. 1451—d. 22 Feb. 1512], in the employ of the King of Spain, leaves Cadiz with 4 ships. This, his first voyage, was chiefly about the

1498. Oct. 15. Gulf of Mexico. He returns to Cadiz 15 October 1498.

1499. May. Vespucci—again in the service of Spain—leaves Cadiz. This voyage, in part with Alonzo de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa, brought him to the mainland of South America.

Hythlodaye, 'for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the. iii. last voyages of

1500. Sept. those. iii. . . . he continued styl in his company.' *p.* 29.

1501. May 14. Vespucci—entering the service of the king of Portugal—leaves Lisbon on his *third* voyage; in which he continues his

1502. Sept. 7. discoveries along the coast of Brazil. He returns to Lisbon.

1503. May [June?] 10. Vespucci—still in the service of the king of Portugal—commands a ship in a squadron of 6 ships, under Gonçalo de Coelho.

Hythloday says, "When I was determyned to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly."—*See list at p.* 119.

'Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bookes.' *p.* 119.

The squadron crossed the line, and on 10th Aug. saw distinctly on the horizon an island—which can be no other than Fernando de Noronha. The flag-ship, of 300 tons, was wrecked on a rock near the island, but happily the crew were

saved. Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He missed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days, however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone; anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed *rendezvous* in case of separation; Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days; and
1503. Sept., waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay,
Oct. the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which,
1503. Nov. (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which
1504. Mar. they loaded their ships; during a stay of 5 months.

Before returning, they left a little factory of 24 armed men
1504. April 3. in a fortress armed with 12 guns. Then setting out, in 77 days
1504. June 18. reached Lisbon on 18 June 1503; bring the earliest tidings of either themselves or their missing consorts; which on 4 Sept. 1504, Vespucci believed to be all lost. [*Condensed from Varnhagen, pp.* 114, 115.]

Hythlodaye 'gotte the licence of mayster Americke (though it was sore agains this wyll) to be one of the. xxiiii whiche in the ende of the laste voyage were left in the countrye of Gulike.' *p.* 30.

After the departynge of Mayster Vespuce, when he had trauailed through and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikanes [*i.e.* of the above 24: one of these five was the above named Tricius Apinatus, *p.* 119.] *p.* 30.

*1505- 1510. Yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentlye sene theire fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here. *p.* 69.

Amaurote . . . wherein I liued fiue whole yeares together. *p.* 77.

The ACHORIENS [Achorii], whiche be situate ouer agaynst the Iland of Utopia on the south easte side. *p.* 57.

The MACARIENS [Macarensii] whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia. *p.* 62.

'The ANEMOLIANES [Anemolii] . . . dwell farre thence, and had verie litle a[c]quaintance with' the Utopians. *p.* 101.

The battell whiche the Utopians fought for the NEPHELOGETES [Nephelogetæ] against the ALAOPOLITANES [Alaopolitæ] a little before oure time . . . The Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. *pp.* 132, 133.

The ZAPOLETES [Zapoletæ]. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia easteward. *p.* 136.

Hythlodaye marries the aunt of Anemolius, the Poet Laureate of Utopia. *p.* 167.

But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left aliue, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, . . . at my departure. . . . *p.* 144.

At the last by merueylous chaunce he [Hythlodaye] arriued in Trapobane [Ceylon] from whence he went to Caliquit [Calicut], where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne to his Countreye, no thinge lesse then looked for. *p.* 30.

1515. *Nov. Sir T. More meeting Hythlodaye in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral, describes him as 'A man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner.' *p.* 29.

1516. Nov. 1. 'Very uncertain newes' (!) subsequently of Hythlodaye. *p.* 165.

A fruteful/

and pleasaunt worke of the

beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson Citizein and Goldsmythe of London, at the procurement, and earnest request of George Tadlowe Citezein and Haberdassher of the same Citie.

(.·.)

¶ Emprinted at London by Abraham Uele, dwelling in Pauls churcheyarde at the sygne of the Lambe. Anno,

1551.

To the right

honourable, and his verie sin guler good maister, maister William Cecylle esquiere, one of the twoo principall secretaries to the kyng his moste excellente maiestie, Raphe Robynson wissheth continuaunce of health, with dayly increase of vertue, and honoure.

VPon a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander ſurnamed ye Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay ſiege to the citie: The Corinthians being forth with ſtryken with greate feare, beganne buſilie, and earneſtly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to ſkowre and trymme vp harneis, ſome to carry ſtones, ſome to amende and buylde hygher the walles, ſome to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortreſſes, ſome one thynge, and ſome an other for the defendinge, and ſtrengthenynge of the citie. The whiche buſie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phyloſopher ſawe, hauing no profitable buſines whereupon to ſette himſelf on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that neceſſitie) immediatly girded about him his phyloſophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble vp and downe hether and thether vpon the hille ſyde, that lieth adioyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold

he haue none. This ſeing one of his frendes, and not a litell muſynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doeſt thou thus, or what meaneſt thou hereby? Forſothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycauſe it where no reaſon yat I only ſhould be ydell, where ſo many be working. In ſemblable maner, right honorable ſir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche leſſe habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that ſhall or may be for the auauncement and commoditie of the publique wealth of my natiue countrey: yet I ſeing euery ſort, and kynde of people in theire vocation, and degree buſilie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and eſpecially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inuentions, and deuiſes to the furtheraunce of the ſame: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey ſo to tumble my tubbe, I meane ſo to occupie, and exerciſe meſelf in beſtowing ſuch ſpare houres, as I beinge at ye becke, and commaundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me ſelf: yat though no commoditie of that my labour, and trauaile to the publique weale ſhould ariſe, yet it myght by this appeare, yat myne endeuoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accompliſhement therfore, and fulfyllyng of this my mynde, and purpoſe: I toke vpon me to tourne, and tranſlate oute of Latine into oure Engliſhe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which ſir Thomas more knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and ſetting forth ye beſt ſtate, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almoſt fourtie yeres ago by the ſaid ſir Thomas More ye authour therof. The whiche man, foraſmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almoſt of thies our dayes: and for ye excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for ye high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had moſt graciouſly called him, notably wel knowen, not only among vs his countremen, but alſo in forrein countreis and nations: therfore I

haue not much to ſpeake of him. This only I ſaye: yat it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs Engliſh men, yat a man of ſo incomparable witte, of ſo profounde knowlege, of ſo abſolute learning, and of ſo fine eloquence was yet neuertheleſſe ſo much blinded, rather with obſtinacie, then with ignoraunce yat he could not or rather would not ſee the ſhining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuſe to perſeuer, and continue in his wilfull and ſtubbourne obſtinacie euen to ye very death. This I ſay is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter paſſe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I ſaid befor) is a work not only for ye matter yat it conteineth fruteful and profitable, but alſo for ye writers eloquent latine ſtiele pleaſaunt and delectable. Which he yat readeth in latine, as ye authour himſelf wrote it, perfectly vnderſtanding ye ſame: doubtles he ſhal take great pleaſure, and delite both in ye ſweete eloquence of ye writer, and alſo in ye wittie inuencion, and fine conueiaunce, or diſpoſition of ye matter: but moſt of all in the good, and holſome leſſons, which be there in great plenty, and aboundaunce. But nowe I feare greatly yat in this my ſimple tranſlation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our engliſh tonge all the grace and pleaſure of ye eloquence, wherwith ye matter in latine is finely ſet forth may ſeme to be vtterly excluded, and loſt: and therfore the frutefulnes of the matter it ſelfe muche peraduenture diminiſhed, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent ſtyele ſetteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other ſide rude, and vnlearned ſpeche defaceth and diſgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wiſe man ſay: A good tale euel tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other ſollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me ſelf, and alſo knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my tranſlation was fully determined neuer

to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and eſpecially one, whom aboue al other I regarded, a man of ſage, and diſcret witte and in wor[l]dly matters by long vſe well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honeſt citizein of London, and in the ſame citie well accepted, and of good reputation: at whoes requeſt, and inſtaunce I firſt toke vpon my weake, and feble ſholders ye heauie, and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with diuers other, but this man chiefely (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to an ende, ceaſſed not by al meanes poſſible continualy to aſſault me, vntil he had at ye laſte, what by ye force of his pitthie argumentes and ſtrong reaſons, and what by hys authority ſo perſuaded me, that he caufed me to agree and conſente to the impryntynge herof. He therfore, as the chiefe perſuadour, muſt take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and raſhe enterpryſe ſhall enſue. I, as I ſuppoſe, am herin clerely acquytte, and diſcharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundely learned, and well affected towardes all ſuche, as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ye well beſtowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but alſo for youre godlye dyſpoſytyon, and vertuous qualytyes not vnworthelye nowe placed in auctborytye, and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good mayſterſhyppe thys my ſymple woorke. Partly that vnder the ſauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can ſay well by nothing, that pleaſeth not their fond, and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly: and partlye that by the meanes of this homely preſent I may the better renewe, and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) yat old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in

the time of our childhode, being then ſcolefellowes togethers. Not doubting that you for your natiue goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towardes you is not by reaſon of long tract of time, and ſeparation of our bodies any thinge at all quayled and diminiſhed, but rather (I aſſuer you) much augmented, and increaſed. This verely is ye chieffe cauſe, yat hath incouraged me to be ſo bolde with youre maiſterſhippe. Els truelye this my poore preſent is of ſuch ſimple and meane ſort, that it is neyther able to recompenſe the leaſt portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vndeſerued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and alſo now lately again bountifully ſhewed : neither yet fitte, and mete for the very baſenes of it to be offered to one ſo worthy, as you be. But almighty god (who therfore euer be thanked) hath auaunced you to ſuch fortune, and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankefully aſwell a mans good will as his gift. The ſame god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfully

to contynue in all godlynes
and proſperytye.

(.·.)

A frutefull

pleasaunt, and wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Utopia: written in Latine, by the right worthie and famous Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englishe by Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and nowe by him at this seconde edition newlie perused and corrected, and also with diuers notes in the margent augmented.

Imprinted at London, by Abraham Vele, dwellinge in Pauls churchyarde, at the signe of the Lambe.

¶ The translator to the gentle reader.

THou ſhalte vnderſtande gentle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in Engliſh, come nowe the ſeconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intente, that it ſhoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no ſuch purpoſe toke vpon me at the firſte the tranſlation thereof: but did it onelye at the requeſt of a frende, for his owne priuate vſe, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it ſecrete to hym ſelf alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and alſo ſkilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not ſo well ſene, as to be hable to iudge of the finenes or courſenes of my tranſlation. Wherfore I wente the more ſleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my ſelfe therein, rather to pleaſe my ſayde frends iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meaneſſe of whoſe learninge I thoughte it my part to ſubmit, and attemper my ſtile. Lightlie therefore I ouer ran the whole worke, and in ſhort tyme, with more haſt, then good ſpede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe ſayeth: The haſtye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finiſhed, the rudenes therof ſhewed it to be done in poſte haſte. How be it, rude and baſe though it were, yet fortune ſo ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly againſt my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to reſiſt the pitthie perſuaſions of my frendes, and perceauing therfore none other remedy, but that furth it ſhoulde: I comforted myſelfe for the tyme, only with this notable ſaying of Terence.

Ita vita eſt hominum, quaſi quum ludas teſſeris.
Si illud, quod eſt maxumè opus iactu non cadit:
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verſes the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: Meanynge therein, if that chaunce riſe not, whiche is

moſt for the plaiers aduauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe ſent, ought ſo connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier leaſt dammage. By the which worthy ſimilitude ſurely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderſtande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and miſſe of our good pretenſed purpoſe, ſo that the ſucceſſe and our intente proue thinges farre odde: yet ſo we ought with wittie circumſpection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof enſue. According to the whiche counſell, though I am in dede in compariſon of an experte gameſter and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet haue I in this by chaunce, that on my ſide vnwares hath fallen, ſo (I ſuppoſe) behaued myſelf, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought ſo much, or doubted any ſuch ſequele at the beginninge of my plaie: ſo I am ſuer it had bene much worſe then it is, if I had not in the ende loked ſomwhat earneſtlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me ſo fine, ſo perfecte, and ſo exact yat at firſt, as ſurely for my ſmale lerning, it ſhould haue done, yf I had then ment the publiſhing therof in print: yet I truſt I haue now in this ſeconde edition taken about it ſuch paines, yat verye fewe great faultes and notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therfore, moſt gentle reader, the meaneſſe of this ſimple tranſlation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be ſome) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in iuſt conſideration of the premiſſes, gentlye and fauourablye winke at them. So doynge thou ſhalt miniſter vnto me good cauſe to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogethers beſtowed in vaine.

VALE.

¶ Thomas More to Peter Giles, sendeth gretynge.

Am almoſte aſhamed, righte welbeloued Peter Giles, to ſend vnto you this boke of ye Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres ſpace, whiche I am ſure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that I was alreadye diſbourdened of all the laboure and ſtudye belongynge to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the diſpoſition, or conueiaunce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearſe thoſe thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maiſter Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cauſe why I ſhuld ſtudy to ſetforth the matter with eloquence: for aſmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beynge firſte not ſtudied for, but ſuddein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better ſene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my writynge, the niegher it ſhould approche to his homely plaine, and ſimple ſpeche, ſomuche the niegher ſhuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and ſtudy herin. I graunte and confeſſe, frende Peter, myſelfe diſcharged of ſo muche laboure, hauinge all theſe thinges ready done to my hande, that almooſte there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention, or the diſpoſition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither baſe, neither at all vnlearned, both ſome time and leaſure, and alſo ſome ſtudie. But if it were requiſite, and neceſſarie, that the matter

Trueth loueth simplicitie and playnes.

ſhoulde alſo haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a ſueretie that thynge coulde I haue perfourmed by no tyme nor ſtudye. But now ſeynge all theſe cares, ſtayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles ſo muche laboure and ſtudye ſhoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it ſpoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and eaſye to be done. Howbeit to the diſpatchynge of thys ſo lytle buſyneſſe, my other cares and troubles did leaue almoſt leſſe, then no leaſure.

The authors bussines and lettes.

Whiles I doo dayelie beſtowe my time aboute lawe matters: ſome to pleade, ſome to heare, ſome as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, ſome as an vmpier or a Iudge, with my ſentence finallye to diſcuſſe. Whiles I go one waye to ſee and viſite my frende: an other waye about myne owne priuat affaires. Whiles I ſpende almoſt al the day abrode emonges other, and the reſidue at home among mine owne; I leaue to my ſelf, I meane to my booke no time For when I am come home, I muſte commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my ſeruauntes. All the whiche thinges I recken and accompte amonge buſineſſe, foraſmuche as they muſte of neceſſitie be done: and done muſte they nedes be, oneleſſe a man wyll be ſtraunger in his owne houſe. And in any wyſe a man muſte ſo faſhyon and order hys conditions, and ſo appoint and diſpoſe him ſelfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleaſaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe prouided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym ſelfe hath choſen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life: ſo that with to muche gentle behauioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche ſufferaunce of his ſeruauntes, make them his mayſters. Emonge theſe thynges now rehearſed, ſtealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I ſpoken no worde of ſlepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth waſt no leſſe tyme,

then doeth ſlepe, wherein almoſte halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme, whiche I ſteale from ſlepe and meate. Whiche tyme becauſe it is very litle, and yet ſomwhat it is, therfore haue I ones at the laſte, thoughe it be longe firſt, finiſhed Utopia; and haue ſent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruſe: to the intente that yf anye thynge haue eſcaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye miſtruſte my ſelfe (whiche woulde God I were ſomwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worſte and dulleſt memorye) yet haue I not ſo great truſte and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For Iohn Clement my boye, who as you know was there preſente with vs, whome I ſuffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new ſhotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to ſpring vp both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increaſe at length of goodly rype grayne) he I ſaye hathe broughte me into a greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (oneleſſe my memorye ſayle me) ſayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe ouer the riuer of Anyder is fyue hundreth paſeis, that is to ſaye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my Iohn ſayeth that two hundred of thoſe paſeis muſte be plucked away, for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboue three hundreth paſeis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I alſo wyll ſaye as you ſaye, and confeſſe myſelfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then ſurelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce ſerueth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing ſalſe, so yf there be anye thynge doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycauſe I had rather be good, then wilie. Howebeit thys matter maye eaſelye be remedied.

Meate and slepe great wasters of time.

Iohn Clement.

A diuersitie betwene making a lye, and telling a lie.

yf you wyll take the paynes to aſke the queſtion of Raphael him ſelfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muſte nedes do for an other doubte alſo, that hathe chaunced, throughe whoſe faulte I cannot tel: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel vs in what part of the newe world Utopia is ſituate. The whiche thinge, I had rather haue ſpent no ſmall ſomme of money, then that it ſhould thus haue eſcaped vs: aſwell for that I am aſhamed to be ignoraunt in what ſea that ylande ſtandeth, wherof I write ſo long a treatiſe, as alſo becauſe there be with vs certen men, and eſpeciallie one vertuous and godly man, and a profeſſour of diuinitie, who is excedynge deſierous to go vnto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious deſyre to ſee newes, but to the intente he maye further and increaſe oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne. And that he maye the better accomplyſhe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be ſente thether by the hieghe Byſhoppe: yea, and that he himſelfe may be made Biſhoppe of Utopia, beynge nothynge ſcrupulous herein, that he muſte obteyne this Byſhopricke with ſuete. For he counteth that a godly ſuete, which procedeth not of the deſire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherfore I moſte earneſtly deſire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and ſo to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is vntrue, neyther any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it ſhalbe well done, that you ſhewe vnto him the book it ſelfe. For yf I haue myſſed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte haue eſcaped me, no man can ſo well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do,

In what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth it is vnknowen.

It is thoughte of some that here is vnfaiedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

A godly suete.

oneles he peruſe, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes ſhall you perceaue, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I ſhoulde vndertake to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyſhe, and put forth his owne laboures, and trauayles himſelfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and ſo woulde I alſo, that in publiſhynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I ſhoulde preuent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his hiſtorie. Howbeit, to ſaye the verye trueth, I am not yet ſullye determined with my ſelfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be ſo diuers, the phantaſies of ſome ſo waywarde, their myndes ſo vnkynde, their iudgementes ſo corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a iocounde lyfe, ſolowynge theyr owne ſenſuall pleaſures and carnall luſtes, maye ſeme to be in a muche better ſtate or caſe, then they that vexe and vnquiete themſelues with cares and ſtudie for the puttinge forthe and publiſhynge of ſome thynge, that maye be either profeit or pleaſure to others: whiche others neuertheles will diſdainfully, ſcornefully, and vnkindly accepte the ſame. The mooſt part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little ſmacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare and commen ware, whatſoeuer is not ſtuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of vſe. Some there be that haue pleaſure onelye in olde ruſtie antiquities. And ſome onelie in their owne doynges. One is ſo ſowre, ſo crabbed, and ſo vnpleaſaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor ſporte. An other is ſo narrowe betwene ye ſhulders, that he can beare no ieſtes nor tauntes. Some ſeli poore ſoules be ſo aſearde that at euerye ſnappiſhe woorde their noſe ſhall be bitten of, that they ſtande in no leſſe drede of euerye quicke and ſharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be ſo mutable and

The vnkynde iudgementes of men.

wauerynge. that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, ſayinge one thinge ſyttinge, and an other thynge ſtandynge. An other ſorte ſytteth vpon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne euen as pleaſeth them, euerye writer accordynge to his writinge, in moſte ſpitefull maner mockynge, lowtinge, and flowtinge them; beyng them ſelues in the meane ſeaſon ſauffe, and as ſayeth the prouerbe, oute of all daunger of gonneſhotte. For why, they be ſo ſmugge and ſmothe, that they haue not ſo much as one hearre of an honeſte man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer ſome ſo vnkynde and vngentle, that thoughe they take great pleaſure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to aforde him a good woorde: beynge much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourliſh geſtes. Whiche when they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, geuyng no thankes to the feaſte maker. Go your wayes now, and make a coſtlye feaſte at youre owne charges for geſtes ſo dayntie mouthed, ſo diuers in taſte, and beſides that of ſo vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I ſhall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe aduiſement. Howbeit, ſeeyng I haue taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter, if it may ſtande with his mynde and pleaſure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publiſhyng ot the booke, followe the counſell and aduiſe of my frendes, and ſpeciallye yours. Thus fare you well right hertely beloued frende Peter, with your gentle wife: and loue me as you haue euer done, for I loue you better then euer I dyd.

A fitte Similitude.

¶ The first

Booke of the communication of Raphael Wythloday, concernyng the best state of a commen welth.

THe moſte victorious and triumphant Kyng of Englande Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues, a Prince moſt pereleſſe, hadde of late in controuerſie with Charles, the right highe and mightye Kyng of Caſtell, weighty matters, and of great importaunce. For the debatement and final determination wherof, the kinges Maieſty ſent me Ambaſſadour into Flaunders, ioyned in Commiſſion with Cuthbert Tunſtall, a man doutleſſe out of compariſon, and whom the Kynges Maieſtie of late, to the great reioyſynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Maiſter of the Rolles.

Cuthbert Tunstall.

But of this mannes prayſes I wyll ſaye nothyng, not bicauſe I doo feare that ſmall credence ſhalbe geuen to the teſtimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicauſe his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praiſe them: and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee prayſed, vnleſſe I woulde ſeeme to ſhew, and ſetſurth the brightnes of the ſonne with a candell, as the Prouerbe ſaieth. There mette vs at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted Commiſſioners: excellent men

all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregraue (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wifeſt and the beſt ſpoken of them was George Temſice, prouoſt of Caſſelſes, a man, not only by lernyng, but alſo by nature of ſingular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reaſonynge, and debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercife, ſurely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twife mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne ſpace tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleafure. I in the meane time (for ſo my buſines laye) wente ſtreighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidynge, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd vifite me one Peter Giles, a Citifen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honeſt reputation, and alſo preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hygheſt. For it is hard to ſay, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honeſtye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and alſo ſingularly wel learned, and towardes all ſortes of people excedyng gentyll: But towardes his frendes ſo kynde herted, ſo louyng, ſo faithfull, ſo truſtye, and of ſo earneſt affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendſhippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vſeth leſſe ſimulation or diſſimulation, in no man is more prudent ſimplicitie. Beſides this, he is in his talke and communication ſo merye and pleaſaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and his ſweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminiſhed the feruente deſyre, that I had to ſee my natiue countrey, my wyfe and my chyldren, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to ſee, becauſe that at that time I had been more then. iiii. Monethes from them. Vpon a certayne daye when I

Peter Gyles.

hadde herde the diuine ſeruice in our Ladies Churche, which is the ſayreſt, the moſt gorgeous and curious Churche of buyldyng in all the Citie, and alſo moſt frequented of people, and the ſeruice beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foreſayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well ſtricken in age, with a blacke ſonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke caſt homly about his ſhoulders, whome, by his ſauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the ſayde Peter ſeyng me, came vnto me, and ſaluted me.

And as I was aboute to anſwere him: ſee you this man, ſayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I ſawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge him ſtrayghte home to you.

He ſhould haue ben very welcome to me, ſayd I, for your ſake.

Nay (quod he) for his owne ſake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day liuyng, that can tell you of ſo manye ſtraunge and vnknowen peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very deſirous to heare of ſuche newes.

Then I coniectured not farre a miſſe (quod I) for euen at the firſt ſyght, I iudged him to be a mariner.

Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyued: he hath ſailed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Vliſſes: Yea, rather as the auncient and ſage Philoſopher Plato. For this ſame Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he euer beſtowed more ſtudye then in the Latine, bycauſe he had geuen himſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpoſe, ſauynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the deſire that he had to ſee, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned

Raphaell Hithlodaye

himſelfe in company with Amerike Veſpuce, and in the. iii. laſt voyages of thoſe. iiii. that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes, he continued ſtyll in his company, ſauyng that in the laſt voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made ſuche meanes and ſhift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune ſute, that he gotte licence of mayſter Americke (though it were ſore againſt his wyll) to be one of the. xxiiii whiche in the ende of the laſt voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde ſake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for trauailyng, then dyenge: hauyng cuſtomably in his mouth theſe ſaiynges. He that hathe no graue, is couered with the ſkye: and, the way to heauen out of all places is of like length and diſtaunce. Which fantaſy of his. (if God had not ben his better frende) he had ſurely bought full deare. But after the departynge of Mayſter Veſpuce, when he had trauailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the laſt by merueylous chaunce he arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to ſynde certayne of hys Countreye ſhippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countreye, nothynge leſſe then looked for.

All this when Peter hadde tolde me: I thanked him for his gentle kindneſſe, that he had vouchſafed to brynge me to the ſpeache of that man, whoſe communication: he thoughte ſhoulde be to me pleaſaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylſed eche other: and had ſpoken theſe commune woordes, that bee cuſtomablye ſpoken at the firſt meting, and acquaintaunce of ſtraungers, we went thence to my houſe, and there in my gardaine vpon a bench couered with greene torues, we ſatte downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departyng of Veſpuce, he and his fellowes that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle ſpeache, to wynne the loue and fauoure of the people of that countreye, inſomuche

that within ſhorte ſpace, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmleſſe, but alſo occupiyng with them verye familiarly. He tolde vs alſo, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whoſe name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the coſtes and charges of him and his fyue companions. And beſides that gaue theim a truſtye guyde to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge theim to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes iourneys, he ſayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holſome lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe ſydes of the ſame, as ſarre as the Sonne doth extende his courſe, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde deſertes and wilderneſſes, parched, burned, and dryed vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lotheſome, and vnpleaſaunt to beholde: All thynges out of faſſyon, and comelineſſe, inhabited withe wylde Beaſtes, and Serpentes, or at the leaſte wyſe, with people, that be no leſſe ſauage, wylde, and noyſome, then the verye beaſtes theim ſelues be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleaſaunte. The ayre ſofte, temperate and, gentle. The grounde couered with grene graſſe. Leſſe wildneſſe in the beaſtes. At the laſt ſhall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourſe and occupiyng of merchaundiſe and chaffare, not only among themſelues, and with theire Borderers, but alſo with Merchauntes of ſarre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occaſion (ſayd he) to go to many countreyes on euery ſyde. For there was no ſhippe ready to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyued. The ſhippes that thei founde firſt were made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wiſe. The ſayles were made of great ruſſhes, or of

Shippes of straunge fassions

wickers, and in ſome places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde ſhippes with ridged kyeles: and ſayles of canuaſſe, yea, and ſhortly after hauyng all thynges lyke oures. The ſhipmen alſo very experte and cunnynge, bothe in the ſea, and in the wether. But he ſaide. that he founde great fauoure and frendſhip amonge them, for teachynge them the feate and the vſe of the lode ſtone. Whiche to them before that time was vnknowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull vpon the ſea: Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the ſomer time. But nowe they haue ſuche a confidence in that ſtone, that they feare not ſtormy winter: in ſo dooynge farther from care then daunger, In ſo muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, leſt that thyng, throughe their owne foliſh hardineſſe, ſhall tourne them to euyll and harme, which at the firſt was ſuppoſed ſhoulde be to them good and commodious.

The lode stone.

But what he tolde vs that he ſawe in euerye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpoſe at this time to make reherſall therof. But peraduenture in an other place I wyll ſpeake of it, chiefly ſuche thynges as ſhall be profitable too bee knowen, as in ſpeciall be thoſe decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely prouided and enacted amonge ſuche peoples, as do liue together in a ciuile policye, and good ordre. For of ſuche thynges dyd wee buſelye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewiſe very willingly tolde vs of the ſame. But as for monſters, bycauſe they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquiſitiue. For nothyng is more eaſye to bee founde. then bee barkynge Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, and Leſtrigones deuourers of people, and ſuche lyke great, and incredible monſters. But to fynde Citiſens ruled by good and holſome lawes, that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and foliſſhe lawes in thoſe newe founde landes, ſo he reherſed diuers actes, and conſtitutions, whereby theſe oure Cities, Nations, Countreis,

and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I ſayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determined to reherſe onely that he tolde vs of the maners, cuſtomes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But firſt I wyll repete oure former communication by th[e] occaſion, and (as I might ſaye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched diuers thynges, that be amiſſe, ſome here, and ſome there, yea, very many on bothe partes, and againe had ſpoken of ſuche wiſe lawes, and prudente decrees, as be eſtabliſhed, and vſed, bothe here amonge vs, and alſo there amonge theym, as a man ſo perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and cuſtomes of euery ſeuerall Countrey, as though into what place ſoeuer he came ceaſtwiſe, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche meruailynge at the man: Surely maiſter Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into ſome kinges courte. For I am ſure, there is no Prince liuyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but alſo mete to inſtructe him with examples, and helpe him with counſell. And thus doyng, you ſhall bryng your ſelfe in a verye good caſe, and alſo be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinffolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynffolke (quod he) I paſſe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue ſufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. For theſe thynges, that other men doo not departe from, vntyl they be olde and ſycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leaue, when they canne no longer keepe, thoſe very ſame thynges dyd I beyng not only luſtye, and in good helth, but alſo in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynffolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to requite nor to ioke that beſydes this, I ſhoulde

for their ſakes geue myſelfe in bondage vnto Kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte my mynde that you ſhoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleaſure. Whiche ſurely I thinke is the nigheſt waye that you can deuiſe howe to beſtowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the priuate commoditie of your frendes, and for the generall profite of all ſortes of people, but alſo for th[e] aduauncement of your ſelf to a much welthier ſtate, and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde ſtandeth cleane agaynſt? Now I lyue at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleaſure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of theſe great ſtates, and pieres of realmes can ſaye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that ſue for great mens frendeſhippes: and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor. iii. or. iiii. ſuche other as I am.

Well, I perceiue playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be deſirous neither of richeſſe, nor of power. And truly I haue in no leſſe reuerence and eſtimation a man of your mynde, then anye of theim all that bee ſo high in power and authoritie. But you ſhall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wiſdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte ſo to appoynt and diſpoſe your ſelfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, thoughe it be ſomewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this ſhall you neuer ſo wel doe, nor wyth ſo greate proffitte perſourme, as yf you be of ſome greate princes counſel, and put into his heade (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeſte opinions, and vertuous perſuaſions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel ſprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is ſo perfitte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, and agayne ſo greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counſellour.

You be twyſe deceaued maiſter More (quod he) fyrſte in me, and agayne in the thinge it ſelfe. For neither is in

me the habilityе that you force vpon me, and yf it wer neuer ſo much, yet in diſquieting myne owne quietnes I ſhould nothing further the weale publique. For firſt of all, the moſte parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chiualrie (ye knowlege wherof I neither haue nor deſire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more ſtudy, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceablie to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counſellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of him ſelfe ſo wiſe in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himſelf ſo wiſe, yat he wil not allowe an other mans counſel, ſauing that they do ſhamefully, and flatteringly geue aſſent to the fond and foliſhe ſayinges of certeyn great men. Whoſe fauours, bicauſe they be in high authoritie with their prince, by aſſentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to eſteme their owne inuentions beſt. So both the Rauen and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones faireſt. Than if a man in ſuch a company, where ſome diſdayne and haue deſpite at other mens inuentions, and ſome counte their owne beſt, if among ſuche menne (I ſay) a man ſhould bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paſte, or that he hath ſene done in other places: there the hearers, fare as though the whole exiſtimation of their wiſdome were in ieoperdye to be ouerthrowen, and that euer after thei ſhoulde be counted for verye diſerdes, vnles they could in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at.

Triptakers.

If all other poore helpes fayle: then this is their extreame refuge. Theſe thinges (ſay they) pleaſed our foreſathers and aunceſtours: wolde God we coulde be ſo wiſe as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this anſwere ſtopped euery mans mouth, thei ſitte downe againe. As who ſhould ſai, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe ſhould be founde wiſer, then his foreſathers were. And yet bee we content to ſuffre the

beſt and wittieſt of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might haue ben taken, then by them was, there we take faſt hold, findyng therin many faultes. Manye tymes haue I chaunced vpon ſuch proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and wayward e iudgementes, yea, and once in England:

Parcial iudgementes.

I prai you Syr (quod I) haue you ben in our countrey? Yea forſoth (quod he) and there I taried for the ſpace of. iiii. or. v. monethes together, not longe after the inſurrection, yat the Weſterne Engliſh men made agaynſt their Kyng, which by their owne miſerable and pitiful ſlaughter was ſuppreſſed and ended. In the meane ſeaſon I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the righte reuerende father, Ihon Morton, Archebiſhop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time alſo lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man Mayſter Peter (for Mayſter More knoweth already that I wyll ſaye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane ſtature, and though ſtricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright. In his face did ſhine ſuch an amiable reuerence, as was pleaſaunte to beholde, Gentill in communication, yet earneſt, and ſage. He had great delite manye times with roughe ſpeache to his ſewters, to proue, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde ſpirite were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, ſo that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the ſame perſon, as apte and mete to haue an adminiſtratyon in the weale publique, he dyd louingly embrace. In his ſpeche he was fyne, eloquent, and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellente. Theſe qualityes, which in hym were by nature ſingular, he by learnynge and vſe had made perfecte. The Kynge put muche truſte in his counſel, the weale publyque alſo in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chieſe of his youth he was taken from ſchole into the Courte, and there paſſed

Cardinall Morton.

all his tyme in much trouble and buſines, beyng continually tumbled and toſſed in the waues of dyuers myſfortunes and aduerſities. And ſo by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche ſo beinge learned can not eaſely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I ſate at his table, there was alſo a certayne laye man cunnynge in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occaſion, began diligently and earneſtly to prayſe that ſtrayte and rygorous iuſtice, which at that tyme was there executed vpon fellones, who as he ſayde, were for the moſt parte. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, ſeyng ſo fewe eſcaped punyſhement, he ſayde he coulde not chuſe, but greatly wonder and maruel, howe and by what euil lucke it ſhold ſo come to paſſe, that theues neuertheles were in euery place ſo ryffe and ſo rancke. Naye Syr quod I (for I durſt boldely ſpeake my minde before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge here at: for this punyſhment of theues paſſeth the limites of Iuſtice, and is alſo very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a puniſhment for thefte, and yet not ſufficient to refrayne and withhold men from thefte. For ſimple thefte is not ſo great an offenſe, that it owght to be puniſhed with death Neither ther is any puniſhment ſo horrible, that it can kepe them from ſtealynge, which haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuing. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but alſo the moſt part of the world, be like euyll ſcholemaiſters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their ſcholers. For great and horrible puniſhmentes be appointed for theues. whereas much rather prouiſion ſhould haue ben made, that there were ſome meanes, whereby they myght get their liuyng, ſo that no man ſhoulde be dryuen to this extreme neceſſitie. firſte to ſteale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough prouided for already. There be handy craftes, there is huſbandrye to gette their liuynge by. if they would not willingly be nought

Of lawes not made according to equitie.

By what meanes ther might be fewer theues and robbers

Nay, quod I, you ſhall not ſkape ſo: for firſt of all, I wyll ſpeake nothynge of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe a go, oute of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: ſuche, I ſaye, as put their liues in ieoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges ſake, and by reaſon of weakeneſſe and lameneſſe be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll ſpeake nothing, foraſmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourſe. But let vs conſidre thoſe thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. Firſt there is a great numbre of gentlemen, which can not be content to liue idle themſelfes, lyke dorres, of yat whiche other haue laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and ſhaue to the quicke, by reiſyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they vſe, men els through their lauaſſe and prodigall ſpendynge, hable to brynge theymſelfes to verye beggerye) theſe gentlemen, I ſay, do not only liue in idleneſſe themſelfes, but alſo carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge ſeruyngmen, which neuer learned any craft wherby to gette their liuynges. Theſe men as ſone as their mayſter is dead, or be ſicke themſelfes, be incontinent thruſt out of dores. For gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle perſones, then ſicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine ſo great a houſe, and kepe ſo many ſeruing men as his father dyd. Then in the meane ſeaſon they that be thus deſtitute of ſeruice, either ſtarue for honger, or manfullye playe the theues. For what would you haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode ſo longe, vntyl they haue worne threde bare their apparell, and alſo appaired their helth, then gentlemen becauſe of their pale and ſickely faces, and patched cotes, wil not take them into ſeruice. And huſbandmen dare not ſet them a worke: Knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and

Idlenesse the mother of theues.

Landlordes by the wai checked for Rent-raisyng.

Of Idle seruyng men come theues.

faythful ſeruice to a poore man wyth a ſpade and a mattoke for ſmall wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and pleaſure, was wont with a ſworde and a buckler by hys ſyde to iette through the ſtrete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym ſelfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by ſaynt Mary ſir (quod the lawier) not ſo. For this kinde of men muſte we make moſte of. For in them as men of ſtowter ſtomackes, bolder ſpirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth conſiſte the whole powre, ſtrength, and puiſſaunce of oure army, when we muſte fight in battayle. Forſothe ſir aſwell you myghte ſaye (quod I) yat for warres ſake you muſte cheryſhe theues. For ſuerly you ſhall neuer lacke theues, whyles you haue them. No nor theues be not the moſt falſe and faynt harted ſoldiers, nor ſouldiours be not the cowardleſte theues: ſo wel thees. ii. craftes agree together. But this faulte, though it be much vſed amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen alſo almoſte to all nations. Yet Fraunce beſides this is troubled and infected with a much ſorer plage. The whole royalme is fylled and beſieged with hiered ſouldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in vnder the ſame colour and pretenſe, that hath perſuaded you to kepe theſe ydell ſeruynge men. For thies wyſefooles and verye archedoltes thought the wealthe of the whole countrey herin to conſiſt, if there were euer in a redineſſe a ſtronge and ſure garriſon, ſpecially of old practiſed ſouldiours, for they put no truſt at all in men vnexerciſed. And therfore they muſt be forced to ſeke for warre, to the ende thei may euer haue practiſed ſouldiours, and cunnyng manſleiers, leſt that (as it is pretely ſayde of Saluſt) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exerciſe, ſhould waxe dul. But howe pernitious and peſtilenet a thyng it is to maintayne ſuche beaſtes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of man-

Betwene soldiers and theues smal diversitie.

ye other countreyes doo manifeſtly declare. For not onlye the Empire, but alſo the fieldes and Cities of all theſe, by diuers occaſions haue been ouerrunned and deſtroyed of their owne armies before hande had in a redineſſe.

What inconueniences cometh by continuall garisons of souldiours.

Now how vnneceſſary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche ſouldiours, which from their youth haue ben practiſed and inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduaunce themſelfes to haue very often gotte the vpper hand and maiſtry of your new made and vnpractiſed ſouldiours. But in this poynte I wyll not vſe many woordes, leſte perchaunce I maye ſeeme to flatter you. No nor thoſe ſame handy crafte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and vplandiſh plowmen of the countreye, are not ſuppoſed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle ſeruyngmen, vnleſſe it be ſuche as be not of body or ſtature correſpondent to their ſtrength and courage, orels whoſe bolde ſtomakes be diſcouraged throughe pouertie. Thus you may ſee, that it is not to be feared leſt they ſhoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought vp in good craftes and labourſome woorkes, whereby to gette their liuynges, whoſe ſtoute and ſturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchſafe to corrupte and ſpill none but picked and choſen men) now either by reaſon of reſt and idleneſſe be brought to weakeneſſe: orels by eaſy and womanly exerciſes be made feble, and vnhable to endure hardneſſe. Truly howe ſo euer the caſe ſtandeth, thys me thinketh is nothing auayeable to the weale publique, for warre ſake, which you neuer haue, but when you wyl your ſelfes, to keepe and mainteyn an vnnumerable flocke of that ſort of men, that be ſo troubleſome and noyous in peace. Wherof you ought to haue a thowſand times more regarde, then of warre. But yet this is not only the neceſſary cauſe of ſtealing. There is an other, whych, as I ſuppoſe, is p[ro]per and peculiar to you Engliſhmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forſoth my lorde (quod I) your ſhepe that were wont to be ſo meke and tame, and

ſo ſmal eaters, now, as I heare ſaye, be become ſo great deuowerers and ſo wylde, that they eate vp, and ſwallow downe the very men them ſelfes. They conſume, deſtroye, and deuoure whole fieldes, howſes, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fyneſt, and therfore dereſt woll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them ſelfes with the yearely reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predeceſſours of their landes, nor beynge content that they liue in reſt and pleaſure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leaue no grounde for tillage, thei incloſe al into paſtures: thei throw doune houſes: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing ſtandynge, but only the churche to be made a ſhepehowſe. And as thoughe you loſte no ſmall quantity of grounde by foreſtes, chaſes, laundes, and parkes, thoſe good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into deſolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and vnſatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey maye compaſſe aboute and incloſe many thouſand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the huſbandmen be thruſt owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppreſſion they be put beſydes it, or by wronges and iniuries thei be ſo weried, that they be compelled to ſell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muſte needes departe awaye, poore, ſelye, wretched ſoules, men, women, huſbands, wiues, fatherleſſe children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houſhold ſmal in ſubſtance, and muche in numbre, as huſbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I ſay, out of their knowen and accuſtomed houſes, fyndynge no place to reſte in. All their houſholdeſtuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myght well abide the ſale: yet beeynge ſodainely thruſte oute, they be con-

English shepe deuourers of men.

Shepe maisters decayers of husbandrye.

The decaye of husbandry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagaboundes and theues.

ſtrayned to ſell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abrode tyll that be ſpent, what can they then els doo but ſteale, and then iuſtly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then alſo they be caſte in priſon as vagaboundes, becauſe they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl ſet a worke, though thei neuer ſo willyngly profre themſelues therto. For one Shephearde or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupiyng wherof aboute huſbandrye manye handes were requiſite. And this is alſo the cauſe why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, beſides this the price of wolle is ſo ryſen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forſake worke, and to geue themſelues to idelneſſe. For after that ſo much grounde was incloſed for paſture, an infinite multitude of ſhepe dyed of the rotte, ſuche vengeaunce God toke of their inordinate and vnſaciable couetouſnes, ſendinge amonge the ſhepe that peſtiferous morrein, whiche much more iuſtely ſhoulde haue fallen on the ſhepemaſters owne heades. And though the number of ſhepe increaſe neuer ſo faſte, yet the price falleth not one myte, becauſe there be ſo fewe ſellers. For they be almooſte all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to ſell before they luſt, and they luſte not before they maye ſell as deare as they luſte. Now the ſame cauſe bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that ſo much ye more, bicauſe that after fermes plucked downe, and huſbandry decaied, there is no man that paſſethe for the breadynge of younge ſtoore. For theſe riche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But firſt they bie them abrode verie chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pas-

The cause of dearth of victuales.

What inconuenience commeth of dearth of wolle.

The cause of dearth of wol.

Dearth of cattel with the cause therof.

tures, they ſell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I ſuppoſe) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in thoſe places, where they ſell. But when they ſhall fetche them away from thence wheare they be bredde faſter then they can be broughte vp: then ſhall there alſo be felte greate dearth, ſtoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreaſonable couetouſnes of a few hath turned yat thing to the vtter vndoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did conſiſt. For this greate dearth of victualles cauſeth men to kepe as litle houſes, and as ſmale hoſpitalitie as they poſſible maye, and to put away their ſeruauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggynge: or elles (whyche theſe gentell bloudes, and ſtoute ſtomackes, wyll ſooner ſet their myndes vnto) a ſtealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerye, and miſerable pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, importunate ſuperfluitie, and exceſſiue riote. For not only gentle mennes ſeruauntes, but alſo handicrafe men: yea and almooſte the ploughmen of the countrey, with al other ſortes of people, vſe muche ſtraunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and ſumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, ſtrumpettes, brothelhouſes, ſtewes, and yet an other ſtewes wynetauernes, ale houſes, and tiplinge houſes, with ſo manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all theſe ſende the haunters of them ſtreyghte a ſtealynge when theyr money is gone? Caſte oute theſe pernicyous abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of huſbandrie, ſhal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the poſſeſſion therof to ſuche, as wil go to the coſt of buylding them anewe. Suffer not theſe riche men

Dearth of victuales is the decay of house keping; whereof ensueth beggery and theſte.

Excesse in apparell and diet a mainteiner of beggery and theſte.

Baudes, whores, winetauernes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues.

to bie vpal, to ingroſſe, and forſtalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as pleaſe them. Let not ſo many be brought vp in idelnes, let huſbandry and tillage be reſtored, let clothe-workinge be renewed, that ther may be honeſt labours for this idell ſort to paſſe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either pouertie hath cauſed to be theues, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel ſeruing men, and ſhortelye wilbe theues. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for theſe enormities, you ſhall in vaine aduaunce your ſelues of executing iuſtice vpon fellons. For this iuſtice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more floriſhynge to the ſhewe, then either iuſte or profitable. For by ſuffring your youthe wantonlie, and viciouſly to be brought vp, and to be infected, euen frome theyr tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a goddes name to be puniſhed, when they commit the ſame faultes after being come to mans ſtate, which from their youthe they were euer like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theues, and then puniſh them? Now as I was thus ſpeakinge, the Lawier began to make hym ſelfe readie to anſwere, and was determined with him ſelfe to vſe the common faſhion, and trade of diſputers, whiche be more diligent in reherſinge, then anſwering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praiſe. In dede ſir, quod he, you haue ſaid wel, being but a ſtraunger, and one that myghte rather heare ſome thing of theſe matters, then haue any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the ſame, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifeſt and plaine. For firſte I will reherſe in order all that you haue ſayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure faſhions, maners and customes: and laſt of all I will aunſwere youre argumentes, and confute them euery one. Firſte therefore I wyll begynne where I promyſed. Foure thynges you ſemed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Car

Rich men ingrossers and forestallers.

The corrupte education of youth a mother of theuery.

dinall: for it appeareth that you will make no ſhorte aunſwere, which make ſuche a beginnynge. Wherefore at this time you ſhall not take the paynes to make youre aun[ſ]were, but kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next, onles either you or mayſter Raphael haue any earneſt let. But nowe mayſter Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye heare of you, why you thinke theſte not worthye to be puniſhed with deathe, or what other puniſhemente you can deuiſe more expedient to the weale publique. For I am ſure you are not of that minde, that you woulde haue theſte eſcape vnpuniſhed. For yf nowe the extreme puniſhemente of deathe can not cauſe them to leaue ſtealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers ſhoulde be ſuer of their lyues: what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the puniſhmente, as a a verye prouocation to the miſchiefe? Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iuſtice, that ye loſſe of money ſhould cauſe the loſſe of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus ſay: that the breakynge of iuſtice, and the tranſgreſſion of the lawes is recompenſed with this puniſhment, and not the loſſe of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous iuſtice wel be called plaine iniurie? For ſo cruell gouernaunce, ſo ſtreite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a ſmall offenſe be committed, by and by the ſword ſhould be drawen: Nor ſo ſtoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenſes of ſuche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offenſe then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye reſpecte to equitie, no ſimilitude or equalitie conſiſteth. God commaundeth vs that we ſhall not kill. And be we

He is worthelie put to silence that is to full of wordes.

That theſte ought not to be punished by death.

Straite lawes not allowable.

then ſo haſtie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? And if any man woulde vnderſtande killing by this commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wiſe, then mans conſtitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewiſe by mans conſtitutions be determined after what ſort whordome, fornication, and periurie may be lawfull? For where as by the permiſſion of God, no man hath power to kil neither himſelf, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the conſent of men, concerninge ſlaughter of men: oughte to be of ſuche ſtrengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God haue killed thoſe, whom this conſtitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and danger to Gods commaundement: ſhall it not then by this reaſon follow, that the power of Gods commaundemente ſhall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And ſo ſhall it come to paſſe, that in like maner mans conſtitutions in al thinges ſhal determine how farre the obſeruation of all Gods commaundementes ſhall extende. To be ſhorte Moyſes law, though it were vngentle and ſharpe, as a law that was geuen to bondmen, yea; and them very obſtinate, ſtubborne, and ſtyfnecked: yet it puniſhed theſte by the purſe, and not wyth death. And let vs not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children hathe geuen vs greater ſcoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one vpon another. Nowe ye haue heard the reaſons whereby, I am perſuaded that this puniſhement is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke ther is no body that knoweth not, how vnreaſonable, yea: how pernitious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a theſe and an homicide or murderer, ſhoulde ſuffer equall and like puniſhment. For the theſe ſeynge that

That mans law ought not to be preiudicial to gods law.

Theſte in the olde lawe not punished by death.

What inconuenience ensueth of punishynge theft with death.

man, that is condempned for thefte in no leſſe ieoperdie, nor iudged to no leſſe puniſhment, then him that is conuicte of manſlaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is ſtrongly and forciblye prouoked, and in a maner conſtreined to kill him, whome els he woulde haue but robbed. For the murder beynge ones done, he is in leſſe feare, and in more hoope that the deede ſhall not be bewrayed or knowen, ſeynge the partye is nowe deade, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte haue vttered and diſcloſed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and diſcriued: yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed but ſingle fellonye. Therfore whiles we go about with ſuche crueltie to make theues aferd, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this queſtion, what puniſhemente were more commodious and better: that truelye in my iudgemente is eaſier to be founde, then what puniſhment might be wurſe. For why ſhould we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the puniſhemente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paſte ſo longe pleaſe the Romaines, men in the adminiſtration of a weale publique mooſte experte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as amonge them were conuicte of great and heynous treſpaces, them they condempned into ſtone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation ſo wel as yat which I ſawe, whiles I trauailed abroade aboute the worlde, vſed in Perſia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites. Whoſe land is both large and ample, and alſo well and wittelye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, ſauinge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great king of Perſia. But bicauſe they be farre from the ſea, compaſſed and incloſed, almoſte rounde aboute with hyghe moun-

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer.

What lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft.

Howe the Romayns punished thefte.

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia.

taines, and do content them ſelues with the fruites of their owne lande, whiche is of it ſelfe verye fertile and frutfull: for this cauſe neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde cuſtome of the land, they deſire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and thoſe that they haue by reaſon of the highe hilles be eaſely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, ſetteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie: or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowen aſmuch, as by name, I ſuppoſe ſauing only to theyr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be atteinted and conuict of felony, make reſtitution of that which they ſtole, to the righte owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the thiefeſtolen thinge, then the thiefe him ſelfe hathe. But if the thing be loſte or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of ſuch offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they them ſelues be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the theſte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in priſon, nor fettered in giues, but be vntied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuſe labour, or go ſlowly and ſlacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but alſo pricked forward with ſtripes. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they liue without checke or rebuke. Euery night they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beſide their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicauſe they be commen ſeruauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in ſome partes that which is beſtowed vpon them is gathered in almes. And thoughe that waye be vncertein, yet

A priuie nippe for them that do otherwise.

Theues condempned to be commen labourers.

the people be ſo ful of mercy and pitie, that none is ſound more profitable or plentifull. In ſome places certein landes be appointed hereunto: of the reuenewes whereof they be mainteined. And in ſome places euerye man geueth a certein tribute for ye ſame vſe and purpoſe. Againe in ſome partes of the land theſe ſeruing men (for ſo be theſe dampned perſons called) do no common worke, but as euerye priuate man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe ſome of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limitted waiges by the daye, ſumwhat cheper then he ſhoulde hire a free man. It is alſo lawefull for them to chaſtice the ſlouthe of theſe ſeruinge men with ſtripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and beſides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth dailie ſome thing into the common treaſourie. All and euery one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or ſhauen, but rounded a lytle aboue the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and alſo a coate of their owne colloure: but to receiue money is deathe, aſwell to the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no leſſe ieoperdie it is for a free man to receiue moneye of a ſeruynge manne for anye maner of cauſe: and lykewiſe for ſeruinge men to touche weapons. The ſeruinge men of euerye ſeuerall ſhire be diſtincte and knowen frome other by their ſeuerall and diſtincte badges: whiche to caſte awaye is death: as it is alſo to be ſene oute of the precincte of their owne ſhire, or to talke with a ſeruinge man of another ſhyre. And it is leſſe daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea and to conceal ſuche an enterpries in a ſeruinge man it is deathe, in a free man ſeruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vttereth ſuche counſelles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great ſome of money, to a ſeruing man freedome:

Seruing men.

An euell intent estemed as the dede.

and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counſell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be ſo good for them to go forewarde in their euyll purpoſe, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue ſhewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vſed, howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe commodyous it is, you do playnelye perceaue: For aſmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyſhemente intendeth nothynge elles, but the deſtruction of vices, and ſauynge of menne: wyth ſo vſynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuſe but be good, and what harme ſo euer they did before, in the reſidewe of theyr life to make a mendes for the ſame. Moreouer it is ſo litle feared, that they ſhoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their ſauegarde chuſe them to theyr guydes before any other, in euery ſheir chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboute them meate for that purpoſe. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them ſhoulde betraie the robbery. They ſhoulde be no ſooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they ſhoulde be puniſhed. Neither they can haue any hope at all to ſkape awaye by flienge. For howe ſhould a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye preuelie and vnknowen, onles he woulde runne awaye naked? Howebeit ſo alſo flyinge he ſhoulde be diſcriued by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conſpire againſte the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the ſeruyng men of one ſheire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to paſſe ſuche an enterpriſe, without ſollicitinge, entyſinge, and allurynge the ſeruinge men of manye other ſhieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them ſo impoſſible, that they maye not aſmuch as ſpeake or talke togethers, or ſalute one an other. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde

The right end and intent of punishement.

make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counſell in ſuche a matter, whiche they knowe well ſhould be ieopardie to the concelour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the ſame. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in diſpaire to recouer againe his former eſtate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente ſuffringe, and by geuing good tokens and likelyhoode of himſelfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honeſt man. For euerye yeare diuers of them be reſtored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus ſpoken, ſayinge moreouer that I coulde ſee no cauſe why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Iuſtice whiche the lawyer ſo heighly prayſed: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be ſo ſtablyſhed in Englande, but that it muſt nedes bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and haſarde. And as he was thus ſayinge, he ſhaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and ſo he helde his peace. And all that were there preſent, with one aſſent agreed to his ſayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the ſentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge ſhoulde commaunde execution to be defferred and ſpared, and would proue this order and faſſion: takinge awaye the priuiliges of all ſaintuaries: if then the profe ſhoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were ſtabliſhed: Els the condempned and repriued perſons may aſwel and as iuſtly be put to death after this profe, as when they were firſt caſt. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane ſpace growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that theſe vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the ſame faſhion, againſt whom we haue hitherto made ſo many lawes, and ſo litle preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus ſaide, than euery man gaue greate praiſe

Vagaboundes.

to my ſayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But mooſt of al was eſtemed that which was ſpoken of vagaboundes, bicauſe it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can not tell whether it were beſt to reherſe the communication that folowed, for it was not very ſad. But yet you ſhall heare it, for there was no euil in it, and partlye it parteined to the matter before ſaide. There chaunced to ſtand by a certein ieſting paraſite, or ſcoffer, which wold ſeme to reſemble and counterfeit ye foole. But he did in ſuche wiſe counterfeit, that he was almoſt ye verye ſame in dede that he labored to repreſent: he ſo ſtudied with wordes and ſayinges brought furth ſo out of time and place to make ſporte and moue laughter, that he himſelfe was oftener laughed at then his ieſtes were. Yet the fooliſhe fellowe brought out now and then ſuch indifferent and reaſonable ſtuffe, that he made the prouerbe true, which ſaieth: he that ſhoteth oft, at the laſt ſhal hit the mark. So that when one of the company ſayd, that throughe my communication a good order was founde for theues, and that the Cardinal alſo had wel prouided for vagaboundes, ſo that only remained ſome good prouiſion to be made for them that through ſicknes and age were fallen into pouertie, and were become ſo impotent and vnweldie, that they were not hable to worke for their liuinge · Tuſhe (quod he) let me alone with them: you ſhall ſe me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driuen ſumwher oute of my ſight, they haue ſo ſore troubled me manye times and ofte, when they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde ſo tune their ſonge, that thereby they euer got of me one farthinge. For euer more the one of theſe two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicauſe I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wiſe. For when they ſee me go by, bicauſe they will not leeſe theyr labour, they let me paſſe and ſaye not one worde

The waueringe iudgementes of flatterers.

Sicke, aged, impotent persons and beggers.

to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good ſothe no more, then yf I were a prieſt, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all theſe beggers ſhall be diſtributed, and beſtowed into houſes of religion. The men ſhalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal ſmiled, and allowed it in ieſt, yea and all the reſidue in good earneſt. But a certeine freare graduate in diuinitie, toke ſuche pleaſure and delite in this ieſte of prieſtes and monkes, that he alſo beynge elles a man of griſlie and ſterne grauitie, began merilie and wantonlye to ieſte and taunt. Naye, quod he, you ſhall not ſo be ridde and diſpatched of beggers, oneles you make ſome prouiſion alſo for vs frears. Why, quod the ieſter, that is done alreadie, for my lord him ſelfe ſet a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes ſhould be kept ſtraite, and ſet to worke: for you be the greateſt and verieſt vagaboundes that be. This ieſt alſo, when they ſawe the Cardinall not diſproue it, every man toke it gladly, ſauyng onelye the Frear. For he (and that no marueile) beynge thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, ſo fret, ſo fumed, and chafed at it, and was in ſuch a rage, that he could not refraine himſelfe from chidinge, ſkolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, ſclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the ieſtynge ſcoffer beganne to playe the ſcoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre ſelfe good maiſter Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for ſcripture ſaieth: in youre patience you ſhall ſaue your ſoules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearſe his own very woordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaſte wiſe, I do not ſinne: for the Pſalmiſte ſaith, be you angrie, and ſinne not. Then the Cardinal ſpake gently to the freare, and deſired him to quiete him-

A commen prouerbe amonge beggers.

A mery talke betwene a Frere and a foole.

Talke qualified according to the person that speaketh.

ſelfe. No my lord, quod he, I ſpeak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is ſayd: the zeale of thy houſe hath eaten me. And it is ſonge in the church The ſkorners of Helizeus, whiles he went vp into the houſe of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peraduenture this ſkorning villaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you ſhould do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wiſely, yf you woulde not ſet youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a fooliſhe contention. No forſoeth my lorde (quod he) I ſhoulde not do more wyſelye. For Salomon the wyſe ſaieth: Anſwere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do ſhew him the pit that he ſhall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many ſkorners of Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more ſhall one ſkorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we haue alſo the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and ſkorne vs be excommunicate, ſuſpended, and acurſed. The cardinal, ſeing that none ende would be made, ſent awaie the ieſter by a preuy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was riſen from the table, he went to heare his ſueters, and ſo dimiſſed vs. Looke maiſter More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which ſurely I woulde haue bene aſhamed to haue done, but that you ſo earneſtly deſired me, and did after ſuch a ſorte geue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication ſhould be left out. Whiche thoughe I haue done ſumwhat briefely, yet could I not chuſe but rehearſe it, for the iudgemente of them, whyche when they had improued and diſallowed my ſayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themſelues alſo approue the ſame: ſo impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing aſhamed to admitte, yea almoſte in good earneſt, his ieſters foliſh inuentions: bicauſe that he him ſelfe by

ſmiling at them did ſeme not to diſproue them. So that hereby you may right wel perceaue how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and eſteme me and my ſayinges.

I enſure you maiſter Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you ſaide were ſpoken ſo wittilye and ſo pleaſauntly. And me thought me ſelfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but alſo through the pleaſaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whoſe houſe I was broughte vp of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towardes you before, yet ſeynge you do ſo earneſtlye ſauoure this man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towardes you is nowe increaſed. But yet, all this notwithſtandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I muſt nedes beleue, that you, if you be diſpoſed, and can fynde in youre hearte to follow ſome Princes courte, ſhall with your good counſelles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherfore there is nothynge more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to ſaye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques ſhall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philoſophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themſelues to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, how farre I praye you, ſhall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philoſophers wyll vouchefaufe to enſtruct kinges with their good counſell?

They be not ſo vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookes that they haue putfurthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counſell. But Plato doubtleſſe dyd well foreſee, oneleſſe kynges themſelues woulde applye their mindes to the ſtudye of Philoſophie, that elles they wouldeneuer thoroughlye allowe the counſell of Philoſophers, beynge themſelues before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerſe, and euill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymſelfe proued trewe in kinge Dionyſe. If I ſhoulde propoſe to any kyng

wholſome decrees, doynge my endeuoure to ꝓlucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall cauſes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I ſhoulde furthewith either be driuen away, or elles made a laughyng ſtocke? Well ſuppoſe I were with the Frenche kynge, and there ſyttinge in his counſell, whiles in that mooſte ſecrete conſultation, the kynge him ſelfe there beynge preſente in hys owne perſonne they beate their braynes, and ſerche the verye bottomes of their wittes to diſcuſſe by what craſte and meanes the kynge maye ſtyl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitiue Naples, And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and how to bringe vnder his iuriſdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whoſe kingdomes he hath longe a go in mind and purpoſe inuaded. Here whiles one counſelleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, ſo longe to endure, as ſhall be thought mete and expedient for their purpoſe, and to make them alſo of their counſell, yea, and beſides that to geue them ꝑt of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpoſe about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh beſt to hiere the Germaynes. An other woulde haue the fauoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduyſe is to appeaſe the puiſſaunte power of the Emperoures maieſtie wyth golde, as with a moſte pleaſaunte, and acceptable ſacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counſell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to reſtoore vnto him hys owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full affuraunce of peace. An other commeth in with his fiue egges, and aduiſeth to hooke in the kynge of Caſtell with ſome hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate penſions. Whiles they all ſtaye at the chiefeſte doubte of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the

The Frenchemen priu lie he counseled from the desire of Italie.

Launce knightes.

Engliſhmen, and with mooſte ſuer and ſtronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeſhippe, so that they muſte be called frendes, and hadde in ſuſpicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muſte be hadde in a readines, as it were in a ſtandynge, readie at all occaſions, in aunters the Engliſhmen ſhoulde ſturre neuer ſo lytle, incontinent to ſet vpon them. And moreouer preuilie and ſecretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) priuelie therefore I ſaye to make muche of ſome Piere of Englande, that is banniſhed hys countrey, whiche muſte cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym ſelfe iuſte inherytoure thereof, that by this ſubtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small truſte and affiaunce. Here I ſaye, where ſo great and heyghe matters be in conſultation, where ſo manye noble and wyſe menne counſell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I ſelie man ſhoulde riſe vp and will them to tourne ouer the leaſe, and learne a newe leſſon, ſayinge that my counſell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye ſtyll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooſte greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: ſo that the kynge ſhoulde not nede to ſtudye howe to gette more: And then ſhoulde propoſe vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be ſituate ouer agaynſte the Ilande of Utopia on the ſoutheaſte ſide. Theſe Achoriens ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and auaunced hymſelfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the laſt when they had gotten it, an[d] ſawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquered subiectes by ſundrye occaſions were makynge daylye inſurrections to rebell againſte them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynges inuadynge them: ſo that they were

A notable example, and worthy to be ſolowed.

euer fighting either for them, or agaynſte them, and neuer coulde breake vp theyr campes: Seynge them ſelues in the meane ſeaſon pylled and impoueriſhed: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reaſon that their people in war had ſo inured themſelues to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had taken a delite and pleaſure in robbinge and ſtealing: that through manſlaughter they had gathered boldnes to miſchiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing ſet by or regarded: that their king beynge troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: ſeing againe that all theſe euelles and troubles were endles: at the laſte layde their heades together, and like faithfull and louinge ſubiectes gaue to their kynge free choiſe and libertie to kepe ſtyll the one of theſe two kingdomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be gouerned of halfe a king: foraſmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles beſydes his. So this good prince was conſtreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome, and to geue ouer the newe to one of his frendes. Who ſhortelye after was violentlie driuen out. Furthermore if I ſhoulde declare vnto them, that all this buſie preparaunce to warre, wherby ſo many nations for his ſake ſhould be broughte into a troubleſome hurlei-burley when all his coffers were emptied his treaſures waſted, and his people deſtroied, ſhould at the length through ſome miſchance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were beſt for him to content him ſelfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predeceſſours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flouriſſhing as he could, to endeuoure him ſelfe to loue his ſubiectes. and againe to be beloued of them, willingly

to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, ſeinge that whiche he hath all reddy is euen ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can wel turne hym to: this myne aduyſe maiſter More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?

So God helpe me not very thankefully, quod I,.

Wel let vs procede then, quod he. Suppoſe that ſome kyng and his counſel were together whettinge their wittes and deuiſinge, what ſubtell crafte they myght inuente to enryche the kinge with great treaſures of money. Firſt one counſelleth to rayſe and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge muſt paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to leſſe them it is worthe, when he muſte receiue or gather any. For thus great ſommes ſhalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche ſhalbe receaued. An other counſelleth to ſayne warre, that when vnder this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it ſhall pleaſe him, make peace with greate ſolempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compaſſion forſothe vpon mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteeaten lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych becauſe no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath tranſgreſſed. The fynes of theſe lawes he counſelleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye ſo proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a ſhewe and coloure of iuſtice. An other aduyſeth him to forbidde manye thinges vnder greate penalties and fines, ſpecially ſuche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be vſed, and afterwarde to diſpence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition ſubſteyne loſſe and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite riſeth two wayes. Firſt by tak-

Enhauncynge and imbasyng of coynes.

Counterfayte warres.

The renewing of olde lawes.

Restrayntes.

inge forfaytes of them whome couetoufnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this ftatute, and alfo by fellinge priuileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is forfothe, the deerer he felleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any priuate perfone anye thinge that is againfte the proffite of his people. And therefore maye fel none but at an exceding dere pryce. An other giueth the kynge counfel to endaunger vnto his grace the iudges of the Realme, that he maye haue them euer on his fide, and that they maye in euerye matter defpute and reafon for the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and difcuffe his matters in his owne prefence. So there fhalbe no matter of his fo openlye wronge and vniufte, wherein one or other of them, either becaufe he wyl haue fumthinge to allege and obiecte or that he is afhamed to faye that whiche is fayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke with his prince, wil not fynde fome hole open to fet a fnare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the iudges cannot agree amonges them felfes, reafoninge and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifeft trewthe in dowte: in the meane feafon the Kinge maye take a fyt occafion to vnderftand the lawe as fhal mofte make for his aduauntage, wherevnto all other for fhame, or for feare wil agree. Then the Iudges may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges fide. For he that geueth fentence for the king, cannot be without a good excufe. For it fhalbe fufficient for him to haue equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen and wrefted vnderftandinge of the fame (or els, whiche with good and iuft Iudges is of greater force then all lawes be) the Kynges indifputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counfellours agre and confent together with the ryche Craffus, that no abundance of gold can be fufficient for a prince, which mufte kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kynge, thoughe he would, can do nothinge

Sellyng of licences.

The saiyng of riche Crassus.

vniuſtlye. For all that all men haue, yea alſo the men them ſelfes be all his. And that euery man hath ſo much of his owne, as ye kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it ſhalbe moſte for the kinges aduantage, that his ſubiectes haue very lytle or nothinge in their poſſeſſion, as whoſe ſauegarde doth herein conſiſte, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, becauſe where theſe thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, vniuſte, and vnlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe under ſtowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge ſtomakes. Here agayne if I ſhoulde ryſe vp, and boldelye affirme that all theſe counſelles be to the kinge diſhonoure and reproche, whoſe honoure and ſafetye is more and rather ſupported and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treaſures: and if I ſhould declare that the comminaltie chueſeth their king for their owne ſake, and not for his ſake: to the intent, that through his laboure and ſtudie they might al liue wealthily ſauffe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a ſhepehearde is in that he is a ſhepherde, to feede his ſhepe rather then himſelfe. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to conſiſte in the pouertie of the people, the thing it ſelfe ſheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where ſhal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more deſierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the preſent ſtate of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder ſtomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby truſtinge to get ſome windfal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leeſe? And yf any Kyng were ſo ſmally regarded, and ſo lightly eſtemed, yea ſo behated of his ſubiectes, that

Pouertye the mother of debate and decai of realmes.

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and ſhauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, ſewerly it were better for him to forſake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maieſtie is loſt. For it is againſte the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer ryche and welthie men, Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he ſayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himſelfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleaſure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and ſmarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a iayler. To be ſhorte as he is a folyſhe phiſition, that cannot cure his patientes diſeaſe, onles he caſte him in an other ſyckenes, ſo he that cannot amend the liues of his ſubiectes, but be taking from them the wealthe and commoditie of lyfe, he muſte nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce vnhoneſt pleaſures, and forſake pride. For theſe be the chiefe vices that cauſe hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe coſt not aboue his power. Let hym reſtreyne wyckednes. Let him preuente vices, and take awaye the occaſions of offenſes by well orderynge hys ſubiectes, and not by ſufferynge wickednes to increaſe afterward to be punyſhed. Let hym not be to haſtie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a cuſtome hathe abrogated: ſpecially ſuche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of tranſgreſſion take ſuche fynes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll ſuffre a priuate perſone to take, as vniuſte and ful of gile.

A worthy saiing of Fabrice.

Here if I ſhould brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre diſtaunt from Utopia: whoſe Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a ſolempne othe, that he ſhall neuer at anye time haue

A fleasinge and notable lawe of the Macariens.

in hys treaſure aboue a thouſande pounde of golde or ſyluer. They ſaye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditye of his countrey, then for th[e] enriching of him ſelfe, made this lawe to be a ſtop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording vp ſo muche money as might impoueryſhe their people. For he forſawe that this ſom of treaſure woulde ſuffice to ſupporte the kynge in battaile againſt his owne people, if they ſhoulde chaunce to rebell: and alſo to maintein his warres againſte the inuaſions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceiued the ſame ſtocke of money to be to litle and vnſufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cauſe whie the lawe was made. An other cauſe was this. He thought that by this prouiſion his people ſhoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And ſeynge the kynge could not chewſe but laye out and beſtowe al that came in aboue the preſcript ſome of his ſtocke, he thought he woulde ſeke no occaſions to doe his ſubiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge ſhalbe feared of euel men, and loued of good men. Theſe, and ſuche other informations, yf I ſhoulde vſe among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you ſhoulde I haue?

Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that ſuche communication ſhalbe vſed, or ſuche counſell geuen, as you be ſuere ſhall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For howe can ſo ſtraunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whoſe myndes be allredye preuented: with cleane contrarye perſuaſions? This ſchole philoſophie is not vnpleaſaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counſelles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reaſoned with greate authoritye, theſe thinges haue no place.

Schole philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I ſayde philoſophye hadde no place amonge kinges.

In dede (quod I) this ſchole philoſophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for euery place. But there is an other philoſophye more ciuile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde ſay, her owne ſtage, and thereafter orderynge and behauinge hereſelfe in the playe that ſhe hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, vtteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and faſſyon. And this is the philoſophye that you muſte vſe. Or els whyles a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen ſkoffynge and tryffelinge amonge them ſelfes, yf you ſhoulde ſodenlye come vpon the ſtage in a Philoſophers apparrell, and reherſe oute of Octauia the place wherein Seneca diſputeth with Nero: had it not bene better for you to haue played the domme perſone, then by reherſynge that, whych ſerued neither for the tyme nor place to haue made ſuche a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other ſtuffe that nothinge apperteynethe to the preſente matter, you muſte nedes marre and peruert the play that is in hand, thoughe the ſtuffe that you bringe be muche better. What part ſoeuer you haue taken vpon you, playe that aſwell as you can and make the beſt of it: And doe not therefore diſturbe and brynge oute of ordre the whole matter, bycauſe that an other, whyche is meryer and better cummethe to your remembraunce. So the caſe ſtandeth in a common wealthe, and ſo it is in the conſultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf euel opinions and noughty perſuaſions can not be vtterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not euen as you wolde remedy vices, which vſe and cuſtome hath confirmed: yet for this cauſe you muſt not leaue and forſake the common wealthe: you muſte not forſake the ſhippe in a tempeſte, becauſe you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you muſte not laboure to dryue into their heades newe and ſtraunge informations, whyche you knowe wel ſhalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary

A fine and a fitte similitude.

A dumme plaier.

mindes. But you muſt with a crafty wile and a ſubtell trayne ſtudye and endeuoure youre ſelfe, aſmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handeſomelye for the purpoſe, and that whyche you can not turne to good, ſo to order it that it be not uerye badde. For it is not poſſible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothinge elles wyl be brought to paſſe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I ſhoulde be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde ſpeake ſuche thinges that be trewe I muſt neades ſpeake ſuche thinges: but as for to ſpeake falſe thinges, whether that be a philoſophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughe peraduenture it maye ſeme vnpleſaunte to them, yet can I not ſee why it ſhoulde ſeme ſtraunge, or foliſhelye newfangled. If ſo be that I ſhould ſpeake thoſe thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, theſe thinges thoughe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte ſeme ſpoken oute of place. Foraſmuche as here amonges vs, euerye man hathe his poſſeſſions ſeuerall to him ſelfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be ſpoken? Sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them ſelfes to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleaſaunt, becauſe it calleth them backe, and ſheweth them the ieopardies, Verilye yf all thynges that euel and vitiouſe maners haue cauſed to ſeme inconueniente and noughte ſhould be refuſed, as thinges vnmete and reprochefull, then we muſt among Chriſten people wynke at the moſte parte of al thoſe thinges, whych Chriſt taught vs, and ſo ſtreitly forbad them to be winked at, yat thoſe thinges alſo whiche he whiſpered in ye eares of his diſciples he

The Utopia weale publique.

commaunded to be proclaimed in open houes. And yet ye moſt parte of them is more diſſident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers ſlie and wilie men followynge youre counſel (as I ſuppoſe) bicauſe they ſaw men euel willing to frame theyr manners to Chriſtes rule, they haue wreſted and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue applyed it to mennes manners: that by ſome meanes at the leaſte waye, they myghte agree together. Whereby I can not ſee what good they haue done: but that men may more ſickerlye be euell. And I truelye ſhoulde preuaile euen as litle in kinges counſelles. For either I muſte ſaye otherwayes then they ſaye, and then I were as good to ſaye nothinge, or els I muſte ſaye the ſame that they ſaye, and (as Mitio ſaieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and ſubtil traine of yours, I can not perceaue to what purpoſe it ſerueth, wherewith you wolde haue me to ſtudy and endeuoure my ſelfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handſomely for the purpoſe, yat as farre forth as is poſſible they, may not be very euel. For there is no place to diſſemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counſelles muſte be openlye allowed and verye peſtilent decrees muſte be approued. He ſhalbe counted worſe then a ſpye, yea almoſte as euel as a traytour, that with a ſaynte harte doth prayſe euel and noyeſome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occaſion to doe good, chaunſinge into the companye of them, whych wyl ſoner peruerte a good man, then be made good them ſelfes: through whoſe euel company he ſhalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others ſhalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impoſſible with that craftye wyele, and ſubtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye ſimilitude declareth, why wiſe men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they ſee the people ſwarme into the ſtretes, and daily wet to the ſkinne with rayne, and yet can

not perſuade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houſes, knowynge wel, that if they ſhoulde goe out to them, they ſhould nothinge preuayle, nor wynne ought by it, but with them be wette alſo in the raine, they do kepe them ſelfes within their houſes, being content that they be ſaffe them ſelues, ſeinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtleſſe maiſter More (to ſpeke truelye as my mynde geueth me) where poſſeſſions be priuate, where money bearethe all the ſtroke, it is harde and almoſte impoſſible that there the weale publique maye iuſtelye be gouerned, and proſperouſlye floryſhe. Onles you thinke thus: that Iuſtyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of euell men, or that proſperitye there floryſſhethe, where all is diuided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neuertheleſſe doe not leade theire liues very wealthely, and the reſydewe lyue myſerablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefore when I conſyder with my ſelfe and weye in my mynde the wyſe, and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be ſo wel and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and eſtimation, and yet all thinges beinge there common, euerye man hath aboundaunce of euerye thinge. Againe on the other part, when I compare with them ſo manye nations euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and ſufficientlye, furnyſſhed with lawes: where euerye man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne proper and priuate goodes, where ſo many newe lawes daylye made be not ſufficiente for euerye man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controuerſies in the lawe, dayle ryſynge, neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. Theſe thinges (I ſay) when I conſider with me ſelfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refuſed thoſe lawes, whereby all men ſhoulde haue and enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities.

Plato wylled al things in a common wealth to be commen.

For the wife man did eafely forefee, this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all thinges fhould be broughte in and ftablyfhed. Whyche I thinke is not poffible to be obferued, where euerye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him felfe. For where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himfelfe afmuch as he can, fo that a fewe deuide among them felfes all the whole riches, be there neuer fo muche abundaunce and ftoore, there to the refidewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the mofte parte it chaunceth, that this latter forte is more worthye to enioye that ftate of wealth, then the other be: bycaufe the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, fimple, and by theire daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them felfes. Thus I doe fullye perfuade me felfe, that no equall and iufte diftribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe fhall euer be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannifhed. But fo long as it fhal continew, fo long fhal remaine among the moft and beft part of men the heuy, and ineuitable burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be fumwhat eafed, fo I vtterly denye that it can wholy be taken away. For if there were a ftatute made, that no man fhould poffeffe aboue a certeine meafure of grounde, and that no man fhoulde haue in his ftocke aboue a prefcripte and appointed fome of money: if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge fhoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices fhoulde not be obteined by inordinate fuite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they fhoulde neither be bought nor fold, nor that it fhoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any coft or charge in their offices: for fo occafion is geuen to theym by fraude and rauin to gather vp their money againe, and by reafon of giftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which fhoulde rather haue bene

executed of wiſe men: by ſuch lawes I ſay, like as ſicke bodies that be deſperat and paſt cure, be wont with continual good cheriſſing to be kept and botched vp for a time: ſo theſe euels alſo might be lightened and mitigated. But yat thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and vpryght ſtate, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maiſter of his owne to him ſelfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you ſhall make bygger the ſore of an other parte, ſo the healpe of one cauſeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geuen to annye one, onles it be taken from an other.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men ſhal neuer there liue wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundaunce of gooddes, or of any thing, where euery man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driueth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens trauayles maketh him ſlowthfull. Then when they be pricked with pouertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, ſhal not there of neceſſitie be continual ſedition and blodeſhed? Speciallye the authoritye and reuerence of magiſtrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with ſuch men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot deuiſe.

I maruel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceaue in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye falſe Image and ſimilitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had preſentelye ſene theire faſſhions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you neuer ſawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

Surely (quod maiſter Peter) it ſhalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that

newe lande, then is here in theſe countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be aſwel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theires: wherin long vſe and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, beſides that manye thinges heare amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuyſed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better iudge, if you had red the hiſtories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge ſoeuer hetherto by witte hath bene deuiſed, or ſound by chaunce, that myght be aſwel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were ſo that we did paſſe them in witte: yet in ſtudy, in trauaile, and in labourſome endeuoure they farre paſſe vs. For (as theire Chronicles teſtifie) before our arriual there, they neuer hard any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinoctialles: ſauing that ones about. M.CC. [twelve hundred] yeares ago, a certeine ſhyppe was loſt by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempeſt. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were caſt on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence. Marke nowe what profite they tooke of this one occaſion through delygence and earneſte trauaile. There was no crafte nor ſcyence within the impire of Rome wherof any proffite could riſe, but they either lerned it of theſe ſtraungers, or els of them taking occaſion to ſearche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that euer anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this alſo perchaunce in time to come ſhalbe forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoſte at the firſt meting, made theire owne, what ſoeuer is amonge vs wealthelye deuiſed: ſo I ſuppoſe it wolde be long before we wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge them is better inſtituted then amonge vs.

And this I ſuppoſe is the chieſe cauſe whie their common wealthes be wyſelyer gouerned, and doe flowriſh in more wealthe, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maiſter Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beſeche you deſcribe vnto vs the Ilande. And ſtudy not to be ſhorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their riuers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be ſhort al thinges, that you ſhal thinke vs deſierous to knowe. And you ſhal thinke vs deſierous to know what ſoeuer we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all theſe thinges I haue freſhe in mind. But ye matter requireth leaſure.

Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil beſtowe the time at our pleaſure.

Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the ſame place again, and ſate vs downe vpon the ſame benche, commaunding oure ſeruauntes that no man ſhould trouble vs. Then I and Maiſter Peter Giles deſiered maiſter Raphael to performe his promiſe. He therefore ſeing vs deſirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had ſit ſtil and pauſed a litle while, muſing and bethinkinge himſelfe, thus he began to ſpeake.

The end of the Firste boke.

The seconde

boke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concernyng the best state of a common wealthe conteyninge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politike gouernemente, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Lande.

The sice and fashion of the newe ylande Utopia.

THe Iland of Utopia, conteynethe in breadthe in the middel parte of it (for there it is brodeſt) CC. [two hundred] miles. Which bredthe continueth throughe the moſte parte of the lande Sauing that by litle and litle it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetching about a circuite or compaſſe of V.C. [five hundred] Miles, do faſſion ye whole Iland like to ye new mone. Betwene theſe two corners the ſea runneth in, diuidyng them a ſonder by the diſtaunce. of. xi miles or there aboutes, and there ſurmountethe into a large and wyde ſea, which by reaſon that the land on euery ſide compaſſethe it about, and ſhiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almoſt floweth quietlye, not muche vnlike a greate ſtandinge powle: and maketh welnieghe all the ſpace within the bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in

ſhyppes towardes euerye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the. ii. corners, what with ſordes and ſhelues, and what with rockes be verye ieoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe ſtandeth vp aboue the water a greate rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous bycauſe it is in ſight. Vpon the top of this rocke is a faire and a ſtrong tower builded, which they holde with a garriſon of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde vnder the water, which therfore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themſelfes. And therfore it ſeldome chaunceth that anye ſtraunger oneles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In ſo muche that they themſelfes could ſkafelye entre withoute ieoperdie, but that theire way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes ſtandinge on the ſhore. By turninge, tranſlatinge, and remouinge thies markes into other places they maye deſtroye theire enemies nauies, be they neuer ſo many. The out ſide or vtter circuite of ye land is alſo ful of hauens, but the landing is ſo ſuerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanſhyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies. Howbeit as they ſaye, and as the faſſion of the place it ſelfe dothe partely ſhewe, it was not euer compaſſed about with the ſea. But kyng Utopus, whoſe name, as conquerour the Iland bearеth (For before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which alſo broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good faſſions, humanitye, and ciuile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al ye people of the world: euen at his firſte arriuinge and enteringe vpon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, cauſed. xv. [fifteen] myles ſpace of vplandyſhe grounde, where the ſea had no paſſage, to be cut and dygged vp.

A place naturally fenced nedethe but one garrison.

A politique deuise in the chaunging of land markes.

The Ilande of Utopia so named of king Utopus.

And ſo brought the ſea rounde aboute the lande. He ſet to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the

Ilande (becauſe they ſhould not thinke it done in contumelye and deſpyte) but alſo all his owne ſoldiours. Thus the worke beyng diuided into ſo greate a numbre of workemen, was with excedinge maruelous ſpede dyſpatched. In ſo muche that the borderers, whiche at the firſte began to mocke, and to ieſte at this vaine enterpryſe, then turned theire deriſion to marueyle at the ſucceſſe, and to feare.

Many handes make light worke.

There be in the Ilande. liiii. [fifty four] large and faire cities, or ſhiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, inſtitucions, and lawes. They be all ſet and ſituate a lyke, and in al poyntes faſhioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte ſufferethe.

Cities in Utopia.

Similitude causeth concorde.

Of theſe cities they that be nigheſte together be, xxiiii. [twenty four] myles aſonder. Againe there is none of them diſtaunte from the nexte aboue one dayes iorneyeye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie. iii old men wyſe and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this citie (becauſe it ſtandeth iuſte in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moſte mete for the ambaſſadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citye. The precinctes and boundes of the ſhieres be ſo commodiouſlye appoynted oute, and ſet fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye ſyde leſſe then xx. [twenty] myles of grounde, and of ſome ſyde alſo muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther diſtaunce aſonder. None of the cities deſire to enlarge the boundes and limites of theire ſhieres. For they counte them ſelfes rather the good huſbandes, then the owners of theire landes. They haue in the countrey in all partes of the ſhiere houſes or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyſhed with all ſortes of inſtrumentes and tooles belongynge to huſbandrye. Theſe houſes be inhabited of the citezens. whyche come

A meane distaunce betwene citie and citie.

The distribution of landes.

But this now adaies is the grounde of all mischeife.

Husbandrie and tillage cheifly and principally regarded and aduaunced.

thether to dwelle by courſe. No howſholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then. xl. [forty] perſones men and women, beſydes two bondmen, whyche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the houſe, beinge bothe verye ſage, diſcrete, and aunciente perſones. And euery. xxx. [thirty] fermes or families haue one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of euery one of theſe families or fermes commeth euerye yeare into the citie. xx. [twenty] perſones whiche haue continewed. ij. yeres before in the countreye. In theire place ſo manye freſhe be ſent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in huſbandry, ſhalbe inſtructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare ſhall teache other. This order is vſed for feare that either ſkarſenes of victualles, or ſome other like incommoditie ſhould chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge: yf they ſhould be altogether newe, and freſhe, and vnexperte in husbandrie. This maner and faſſion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of huſbandrye, though it be ſolempne and cuſtomablye vſed, to th[e] intent that no man ſhall be conſtrayned againſte his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and ſharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue ſuche a pleaſure and delyte in huſbandrye, that they obteyne a longer ſpace of yeares. Theſe huſbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede vp cattel, and prouide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moſte conuenyently. They brynge vp a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a meruaylouſe policye. For the hennes dooe not ſytte vpon the egges: but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche theym. The chykens, aſſone as they be come oute of the ſhel, follow men and women in ſteade of the hennes. They brynge vp verye fewe horſes: nor none, but very fearce ones: and that for none other vſe or purpoſe, but onlye to

The dueties of men of husbandrye.

A straunge fassion in hatchinge and bringing vp of pulleyne.

The vse of horses.

exercyse theire youthe in rydynge and feates of armes.

The vse of Oxen.

For oxen be put to all the laboure of plowyng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide and suffre muche more laboure, payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subiect vnto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche lesse coste and charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past laboure. They sowe corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licouresse sodde[n] in water, for thereof they haue great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitailes the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende: Yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed vp muche more cattell, then serueth for their owne vse, partynge the ouer plus among their borderers. What soeuer necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For euery moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holye daye. When theyr harueſt day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, send worde to the magistrates of the citie what numbre of harueſt men is nedefull to be sent to them oute of the citie. The whiche companye of harueſt men beynge readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispacheth all the harueſt woorke.

Bread and drink.

A great discretion in sowing of corne.

Mutual helpe quickely dispatcheth.

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.

AS for their cities, who ſo knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be al ſo like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will deſcribe therefore to you one or other of them, for it ſkilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthieſt and of moſt dignitie. For the refideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counſell houſe. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloued, as wherein I liued fiue whole yeares together. The citie of Amaurote ſtandeth vpon the ſide of a lowe hill in faſhyon almoſt foure ſquare. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and ſtill continueth by ye ſpace of two miles, vntill it come to the ryuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers ſyde, is ſumwhat more. The riuer of Anyder riſeth four and twentie myles aboue Amaurote out of a little ſpringe. But beynge increaſed by other ſmale riuers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other two ſumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyond the citie it falleth into the Ocean ſea. By all that ſpace that liethe betwene the ſea and the citie, and certen myles alſo aboue the citie the water ebbeth and floweth ſixe houres together with a ſwift tide. Whan the ſea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with ſalte water, and driueth backe the freſhe water of the ryuer. And ſumwhat further it chaungeth the ſwetenes of the freſhe water with ſaltnes. But a litle beyonde that the riuer waxeth ſwete, and

The description of Amaurote the chiefe Citie in Utopia.

The description of the riuer of Anyder.

The verie like in England in the riuer of Thamys.

runneth foreby the citie freſhe and pleaſaunt. And when the ſea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freſhe water foloweth it almooſte euen to the verie ſal into the ſea. Ther goeth a bridge ouer the riuer made not of piles or of timber, but of ſtonewarke with gorgious and ſubſtancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the ſea: to the intent that ſhippes maye paſſe alonge forbie all the ſide of the citie without let. They haue alſo an other riuer which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gentely and pleaſauntly. For it riſeth euen oute of the ſame hill that the citie ſtandeth vpon, and runneth downe a ſlope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And becauſe it riſeth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians haue incloſed the head ſpringe of it, with ſtronge fences and bulwarkes, and ſo haue ioyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water ſhoulde not be ſtopped nor turned away, or poyſoned, if their enemies ſhould chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is deriued and conueied downe in cannels of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reaſon that the place wyll not ſuffer it, there they gather ye raine water in great ciſternes, whiche doeth them as good ſeruice. The citie is compaſſed aboute with a heighe and thicke ſtone walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and ouergrowen with buſhes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre ſides or quarters of the city. To the fourth ſide the riuer it ſelfe ſerueth for a ditche. The ſtretes be appointed and ſet furth very commodious and handſome, both for carriage, and alſo againſte the windes. The houſes be of faire and gorgious building, and on the ſtrete ſide they ſtande ioyned together in a long rowe through the whole ſtreate without any partition or ſeparation. The ſtretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe ſide of

Herein also doeth London agre with Amaurote.

The vse of freshe water.

The defence of towne walles.

Stretes.

Buildinges and houses.

the houes through the whole length of the ſtreete, lye large gardens incloſed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the ſtreetes. Euerye houſe hathe two doores, one into the ſtreete, and a poſterne doore on the backſyde into the garden. Theſe doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, ſo eaſie to be opened, that they wil followe the leaſt drawing of a fynger, and ſhutte againe alone. Whoſo will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houſes that is priuate, or anie mans owne. And euery tenth yeare they chaunge their houſes by lot. They ſet great ſtore by their gardeins. In them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, ſo pleaſaunt, ſo well furniſhed, and ſo fynely kepte, that I neuer ſawe thynge more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their ſtudie and deligence herein commeth not onely of pleaſure, but alſo of a certen ſtrife and contention that is betwene ſtrete and ſtrete, concerning the trimming, huſbanding, and furniſhing of their gardens: euerye man for his owne parte. And verelye you ſhall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleaſure. And therfore it maye ſeme that the firſt founder of the citie mynded nothing ſo much, as theſe gardens. For they ſaye that kinge Utopus him ſelfe, euen at the firſt beginning appointed, and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this faſhion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garniſhinge, and the beautifull ſettinge furth of it, wherunto he ſawe that one mannes age would not ſuffice: that he left to his poſteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumſpection, conteinynge the hiſtorie of. M. vii. C. lx. [one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty] yeares, euen from the firſte conqueſt of the Ilande, recorde and witneſſe that the houſes in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore ſheppard houſes, made at all aduen-

To euery dwelling house a garden platte adioyninge.

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie.

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile.

tures of euerye rude pece of tymber, that came firſte to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched ouer with ſtrawe. But nowe the houſes be curiouſlye buylded after a gorgious and gallante ſorte, with three ſtoryes one ouer another. The outſides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaſter, or els of bricke, and the inner ſydes be well ſtrengthened with tymber work. The roofes be plaine and flat, couered with a certen kinde of plaſter that is of no coſte, and yet ſo tempered that no fyre can hurt or periſhe it, and withſtandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glaſſe, for it is ther much vſed, and ſomhere alſo with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, and that for two commodities.

Glazed or canuased windowes.

For by thys meanes more
lighte commeth in, and
the winde is better
kepte oute.

¶ Of the magistrates.

EVerye thirtie families or fermes, chueſe them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Euery ten Syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be vnder an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreouer as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number. 200. firſt be ſworne to chueſe, him whom they thinke mooſte mete and expediente. Then by a ſecrete election, they name prince one of thoſe. iiij. whome the people before named vnto them. For oute of the. iiij. quarters of the citie there be. iiij choſen, oute of

A tranibore in the Utopiane tonge signifieth a head or chief peere.

A maruelous strange fassion in chusinge magistrates.

euery quarter one, to ſtande for the election : Whiche be put vp to the counſell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be depoſed or put downe for ſuſpition of tirannie. They chueſe the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and ſumtimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counſell houſe with the prince. Their counſell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controuerſies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they diſpatch and ende them by and by. They take euer. ij. Siphograuntes to them in counſel, and eueri dai a new coupel. And it is prouided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe ſhalbe confirmed and ratified, onleſſe it haue bene reaſoned of and debated thre daies in the counſell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye conſultation for the common wealthe oute of the counſell, or the place of the common election. This ſtatute, they ſaye, was made to the entente, that the prince and Tranibores might not eaſilye conſpire together to oppreſſe the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the ſtate of the weale publik. Therfore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election houſe of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they haue conſulted amonge themſelues, they ſhew their deuiſe to the counſell. Somtime the matter is broughte before the counſel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this cuſtome alſo the counſel vſeth, to diſpute or reaſon of no matter the ſame daye that it is firſte propoſed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte ſyttinge of the counſell. Becauſe that no man when he hath raſhely there ſpoken that commeth to his tonges ende, ſhall then afterwarde rather ſtudye for

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publique vtterlie to be abhorred.

Sutes and controuersies betwene partie and partie furthwith to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be vnreasonably delaied.

Against hastie and rash decries or statutes.

A custome worthye to be vsed these daies in our counsels and parliamentes.

reasons wherewith to defende and mainteine his first folish sentence, than for the commoditie of ye common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hindraunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne existimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a very foolishe shame) to be counterl anye thing at the firste ouersene in the matter. Who at the first ought to haue spoken rather wyselye, then hastely, or rashlye.

¶ Of Sciences, Craftes and Ocupations.

Husbandrie or tillage practised of all estates, which now a dayes is reiect vnto a fewe of the basest sort.

HVsbandrie is a Science common to them all ingenerall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructe euen from their youth: partelie in their scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nighe the citie, brought vp as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, euerye one of them learneth one or other seueral and particular icience, as his owne proper crafte. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters icience. For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth vse there. For their garmentes, which throughoute all the Ilande be of one fashion, (sauynge that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the vnmaried) and this one continueth for

Sciences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the mayntenaunce of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure.

Similitude in apparrell.

euermore vnchaunged, ſemely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge and weldynge of the bodye, alſo fytte both for wynter and ſummer: as for theſe garmentes (I ſaye) euery familie maketh their owne. But of the other foreſaide craftes euerye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but alſo the women. But the women, as the weaker ſort, be put to the eaſier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborſome ſciences be committed to the men. For the mooſte part euery man is broughte vp in his fathers craſte. For moſte commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde ſtande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth moſt fantaſy. Whome not onely his father, but alſo the magiſtrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a diſcrete and an honeſt houſeholder. Yea, and if anye perſon, when he hath learned one craſte, be deſierous to learne alſo another, he is likewyſe ſuffred and permitted.

No citizein without a science.

To what ocupation euery-one is naturallie inclined that let him learne.

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll: oneleſſe the citie haue more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooſte the onelye offyce of the Syphograutes is, to ſee and take hede, that no manne ſit idle: but that euerye one applye hys owne craft with earneſt diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the euenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beaſtes.

Idel persones to be driuen out of the weale publique.

For this is worſe then the miſerable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche neuertheles is almooſte euerye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, ſauing in Utopia. For they diuidynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. iuſte houres, appointe and aſſigne onelye ſixe of thoſe houres to woorke before noone, vpon the whiche they go ſtreighte to diner: and after diner, when they haue reſted two houres.

A moderation in the laboure and toyle of artificers.

then they worke iii. houres and vpon that they go to ſupper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eueninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firſte houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geue to ſlepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, ſlepe, and meate, that they be ſuffered to beſtowe, euery man as he liketh beſt him ſelfe. Not to th[e] intent that they ſhold miſpend this time in riote or ſlouthfulnes: but beynge then licenſed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to beſtow the time well and thriftelye vpon ſome other ſcience, as ſhall pleaſe them. For it is a ſolempne cuſtome there, to haue lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be preſente they onely be conſtrained that be namelye choſen and appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of euery ſort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, ſome one and ſome an other, as euerye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithſtanding, if any man had rather beſtowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whoſe mindes riſe not in the contemplation of any ſcience liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is alſo prayſed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe. After ſupper they beſtow one houre in playe: in ſummer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and ſuppe. There they exerciſe themſelues in muſike, or els in honeſt and wholſome communication. Diceplaye, and ſuche other foliſhe and pernicious games they know not. But they vſe ij. games not much vnlike the cheſſe. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre ſtealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a ſet fyld. In the which game is verye properlye ſhewed, both the ſtriffe and diſcorde that vices haue amonge themſelfes, and agayne theire vnitye and concorde againſte vertues: And alſo what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues:

The studie of good literature.

Playing after supper.

But now adaies diceplay is the pastime of princes.

Plaies or games also profitable.

with what powre and ſtrength they aſſaile them openlye: by what wieles and ſubtelty they aſſaulte them ſecretelye: with what helpe and aide the vertues reſiſte, and ouercome the puiſſaunce of the vices: by what craft they fruſtrate their purpoſes: and finally by what ſleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here leaſt you be deceaued, one thinge you muſte looke more narrowly vpon. For ſeinge they beſtowe but. vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of ſome neceſſarye thinges hereof maye enſewe. But this is nothinge ſo. For that ſmal time is not only enough but alſo to muche for the ſtoore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requiſite, either for the neceſſitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you alſo ſhall perceaue, if you weye and conſider with your ſelfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyueth ydle. Firſt almoſt all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be ſomewhere occupied, there moſt commonlye in their ſteade the men be ydle. Beſydes this how greate, and how ydle a companye is there of preyſtes, and relygious men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, ſpeciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre alſo theire ſeruauntes: I meane all that flocke of ſtoute bragging ruſſhe bucklers. Ioyne to them alſo ſturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe vnder the coloure of ſome diſeaſe or ſickenes. And trulye you ſhal find them much fewer then you thought, by whoſe labour all theſe thinges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye vſed and frequented. Nowe conſyder with youre ſelfe, of theſe fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in neceſſarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the ſwinge, there many vayne and ſuperfluous occupations muſt nedes be vſed, to ſerue only for ryotous ſuperfluite, and vnhoneſt

The kyndes and sortes of ydel people.

Women.

Priestes and religious men. Riche men and landed men.

Seruyngmen.

Sturdy and valiaunt beggers.

Wonderfull wittely spoken.

pleaſure. For the ſame multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were deuided into ſo fewe occupations as the neceſſarye vſe of nature requyreth: in ſo greate plentye of thinges as then of neceſſity woulde enſue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artiſycers to maynteyne theire liuinges. But yf all theſe that be nowe buſied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and ſlouthfullye, whyche conſume and waſte euerye one of them more of theſe thinges that come by other mens laboure, then. ij. of the workemen themſelfes doo: yf all theſe (I ſaye) were ſette to profytable occupatyons: you eaſelye perceaue howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to ſtoore vs with all thinges that maye be requiſite either for neceſſitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleaſure, ſo that the ſame pleaſure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it ſelfe makethe manifeſte and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or ſhiere adioyning to it ſcaſelye. 500. perſons of al ye whole numbre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licenſed and diſcharged from laboure. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe thoughe they be by the lawes exempte and priuileged from labour) yet they exempte not themſelfes: to the intent that they may the rather by their example prouoke other to worke. The ſame vacation from labour do they alſo enioye, to whome the people perſuaded by the commendation of the prieſtes, and ſecrete election of the Siphograuntes, haue geuen a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them proue not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wiſe, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth ſo earneſtly beſtowe his vacaunte and ſpare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence ſo profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this

Not asmuche as the magistrates liue idelly.

ordre of the learned be chofen ambafadours, prieftes, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him felfe. Whome they in theire olde tonge cal Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The refidewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercifes, it may be eafely iudged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke by them may be doone and difpatched, towardes thofe thinges yat I haue fpoken of. This commodity they haue alfo aboue other, yat in the moft part of neceffarye occupations they neade not fo much work, as other nations doe. For firft of all ye buildinge or repayringe of houfes afketh euerye where fo manye mens continual labour, bicaufe yat the vnthrifty heire fuffereth ye houfes that his father buylded in contyneuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden wyth lytle cofte, hys fucceffoure is conftreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes alfo the howfe that ftoode one man in muche moneye, another is of fo nyce and foo delycate a mynde, that he fettethe nothinge by it. And it beynge neglected, and therefore fhortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldethe vppe another in an other place with no leffe cofte and chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges be fett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good ftaye, it very feldom chaunceth, that they cheufe a newe plotte to buyld an houfe vpon. And they doo not only finde fpedy and quicke remedies for prefent faultes: but alfo preuente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houfes continewe and lafte very longe with litle labour and fmal reparations: in fo much that this kind of woorkmen fomtimes haue almoft nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to fquare and trimme vp ftones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the fpedelier rife. Now Syr in theire apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few woorkmen they neade. Fyrfte of al, whyles they be at

Onely learned men called to offices.

How to auoyd excessiue cost in building.

How to lessen the charge in apparel.

woorke, they be couered homely with leather or ſkinnes, that will laſt. vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caſte vpon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. Theſe clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only ſpend much leſſe wullen clothe then is ſpente in other contreis, but alſo the ſame ſtandeth them in muche leſſe coſte. But lynen clothe is made with leſſe laboure, and is therefore hadde more in vſe. But in lynen cloth onlye whyteneſſe, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the ſmalneſſe or fineneſſe of ye threde, that is no thinge paſſed for. And this is the cauſe wherfore in other places. iiii. or v clothe gownes of dyuers coloures, and as manye ſilke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyſe ſorte. x. [ten] be to ſewe: whereas there one garmente wyl ſerue a man mooſte commenlye. ij. yeares. For whie ſhoulde he deſyre moo? ſeinge yf he had them, he ſhould not be the better hapte or couered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, ſeinge they be all exercyſed in profitable occupations, and that ſewe artificers in the ſame craftes be ſufficiente, this is the cauſe that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo ſometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times alſo, when they haue no ſuche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they ſhall beſtowe fewer houres in worke. For the magiſtrates doe not exerciſe theire citizens againſte theire willes in vnneadefull laboures. For whie in the inſtitution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefely pretended and mynded, that what time maye poſſibly be ſpared from the neceſſarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all yat the citizeins ſhoulde withdrawe from the bodely ſeruice to the free libertye of the minde, and garniſſhinge of the ſame. For herein they ſuppoſe the felicitye of this liffe to conſiſte.

¶ Of theire liuinge and mutual conuersation together.

Vt nowe wil I declare how the citizens vſe them ſelfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement, there is amonge the people, and what faſſion they vſe in the diſtribution of euery thing. Firſte the city conſiſteth of familles, the families moſt commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire huſbandes houſes. But the male children, with al the whole male offpringe continewe ſtill in their owne family and be gouerned of the eldeſt and auncienteſt father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to th[e]intent ye preſcript number of the citezens ſhoulde neither decreaſe, nor aboue meaſure increaſe, it is ordeined that no familie which in euery citie be. vi. thouſand in the whole, beſydes them of the contrey, ſhall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiiii. yeares or there about then. x. or mo then. xvi. for of children vnder this age no numbre can be preſcribed or appointed. This meaſure or numbre is eaſely obſerued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of ſmaller increaſe. But if chaunce be that in ye whole citie the ſtoore increaſe aboue the iuſt number, therewith they fil vp ye lacke of other cities. But if ſo be yat the multitude throughout the whole Ilande paſſe and excede the dewe number, then they chueſe out of euery citie certein citezens, and build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes haue muche waſte and vnoccupied ground, receauing alſo of the ſame countrey people to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning

The numbre of citizens.

and dwelling together do eaſelye agre in one faſſion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they ſo bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe ſufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of thoſe boundes which they haue limited, and apointed out for them ſelues. And if they reſiſte and rebel, then they make warre agaynſt them. For they counte this the moſte iuſte cauſe of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vſe, kepyng other from the vſe and poſſeſſion of it, whiche notwithſtandyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryſhed and relieued. If anye chaunce do ſo muche diminiſhe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminiſhynge of the iuſt numbre of the other cyties (whiche they ſay chaunced but twyſe ſynce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate peſtilente plage) then they fulfyll and make vp the numbre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather ſuffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryſhe, then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminiſhed. But nowe agayne to the conuerſation of the cytezens amonge themſelfes. The eldeſte (as I ſayde) rulethe the familye. The wyfes bee miniſters to theire huſbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee ſhorte the yonger to theire elders. Euery Cytie is deuided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of euery familie be brought into certeyne houſes. And euerye kynde of thing is layde vp ſeuerall in bernes or ſtore houſes. From hence the father of euerye familye, or euery houſholder fetchethe whatſoeuer he and his haue neade of, and carieth it away with him without money,

So might we well be discharged and eased of the ydle company of seruyngmen.

without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye ſhoulde any thing be denyed vnto him? ſeynge there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leſte anye man wyll aſke more then he neadeth. For whie ſhould it be thoughte that that man woulde aſke more then anough, which is ſewer neuer to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyuinge creatures either feare of lacke dothe cauſe couetouſnes and rauyne, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to paſſe and excel other in the ſuperfluous and vayne oſtentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can haue no place. Nexte to the market places that I ſpake of, ſtande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all ſortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but alſo fiſhe, and all maner of. iiii. footed beaſtes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But firſt the ſylthynes and ordure therof is clene waſhed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the ſame purpoſe. From thence the beaſtes be brought in kylled, and cleane waſſhed by the handes of theire bondemen For they permitte not their frie citezens to accuſtome themſelſes to the killing of beaſtes, through the vſe whereof they thinke, clemencye the genteleſte affection of oure nature by lytle and lytle to decaye and peryſhe. Neither they ſuffer anye thinge that is ſylthye, lotheſom, or vnclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, leaſt the ayre by the ſtenche therof infected and corrupte, ſhoulde cauſe peſtilente diſeaſes. Moreouer euerye ſtrete hath certeyne great large halles ſett in equal diſtaunce one from another, euerye one knowen by a ſeuerall name. In theſe halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to euerye one of the ſame halles be apoynted. xxx. [thirty] families, on either ſide. xv [fifteen] The ſtewardes of euerye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyue meate accordinge to the number of their halles.

The cause of coueteus and extortion.

Of the slaughter of beastes we haue learned manslaughter.

Fylth and ordure bring the infection of pestilence into Cyties.

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke.

But firſt and chieflie of all reſpect is had to the ſycke, that be cured in the hoſpitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a litle without ye walles, they haue. iiii. hoſpitalles, ſo bigge ſo wyde, ſo ample, and ſo large, that they may ſeme. iiii. litle townes, which were deuiſed of yat bignes partely to th[e] intent the ſycke, be they neuer ſo many in numbre, ſhuld not lye to thronge or ſtrayte, and therfore vneaſely, and incommodiouſly: and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious diſeaſes, ſuche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of ye reſidue Theſe hoſpitalles be ſo wel appointed, and with al thinges neceſſary to health ſo furniſhed, and more ouer ſo diligent attendaunce through the continual preſence of cunning phiſitians is geuen, that though no man be ſent thether againſt his will, yet notwithſtandinge there is no ſicke perſone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne houſe. When the ſtewarde of the ſicke hath receiued ſuche meates as the phiſitians haue preſcribed, then the beſte is equallye deuided among the halles, according to the company of euery one, ſauing that there is had a reſpect to the prince, the byſhop, the tranibours, and to ambaſſadours and all ſtraungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and ſeldome. But they alſo when they be there, haue certeyne ſeuerall houſes apointed and prepared for them. To theſe halles at ye ſet houres of dinner and ſupper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by ye noyſe of a braſen trumpet: except ſuche as be ſicke in ye hoſpitalles, or

Euery man is at his libertie so that nothing is done by compulsion.

els in their owne houſes. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be ſerued, to fetch home meate out of ye market to his own houſe, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cauſe reaſonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: becauſe it is counted a pointe of ſmal honeſtie. And alſo it were a follye to

take the payne to dreſſe a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare ſo neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile ſeruice, all ſlauery, and drudgerie, with all labourſome toyle, and baſe buſines is done by bondemen. But the women of euery family by courſe haue the office and charge of cookerie for ſethinge and dreſſinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They ſit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men ſitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women againſte them on the other ſide of the table, that yf anye ſodeyne euyll ſhould chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye riſe wythoute trouble or diſturbaunce of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis ſitte ſeuerall alone with theyr younge ſuckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the ſame purpoſe, neuer withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleaſure take them oute of their ſwathynge clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreſhe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or ſycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Syphograuntes quyckelye prouyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profer themſelues to no ſeruice ſo gladlye as to that. Becauſe that there thys kinde of pitie is muche prayſed: and the chylde that is nouriſhed, euer after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Alſo amonge the nourceis. ſytte all the children that be vnder the age of v. yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, aſwell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, do eyther ſerue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they ſtand by with maruailous ſilence. That whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other ſeuerall

Women bothe dresse and serue the meate.

Nourceis.

Nothing soner prouoketh men to well doyng then praise and commendation.

The education of yonge children.

dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife ſitte in the myddes of the high table, foraſmuch as that is counted the honorableſt place, and becauſe from thence all the whole companie is in their ſight. For that table ſtandeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the hall To them be ioyned two of the auncienteſt and eldeſt. For at euerye table they ſit foure at a meeſſe. But yf there be a church ſtanding in yat Syphograuntie or warde, then the prieſt and his wife ſitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both ſydes of them ſit yonge men, and nexte vnto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the houſe equall of age be ſette together, and yet be mixt and matched with vnequal ages. This, they ſay, was ordeyned, to the intent that the ſage grauitie and reuerence of the elders ſhould kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behauioure. Foraſmuch as nothynge can be ſo ſecretlye ſpoken or done at the table, but either they that ſit on the one ſide or on the other muſte nedes perceaue it. The diſhes be not ſet down in order from the firſt place but all the olde men (whoſe places be marked with ſome ſpeciall token to be knowen) be firſt ſerued of their meate, and then the reſidue equally. The olde men deuide their, deinties as they think beſt to the yonger on eche ſyde of them.

The yong mixed with their elders.

Olde men regarded and reuerenced.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuertheleſſe equall commoditie commeth to euery one. They begin euerye dinner and ſupper of redinge ſumthing yat perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is ſhorte, becauſe no man ſhalbe greued therwith. Hereof th[e] elders take occaſion of honeſt communication, but neither ſadde nor vnpleaſaunt. Howbeit they do not ſpende all the whole dinertime themſelues with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare alſo the yonge men: yea, and purpoſelye prouoke them to talke, to th[e] intent that they may haue

This nowe a daies is obſerued in oure vniuerſities.

Talke at the table.

ofe of euery mans wit, and towardnes, or difpofition
ertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feafting
ı fhew and vtter it felf. Their diners be
e fhort: but their fuppers be fumwhat
ger, becaufe that after dyner foloweth
ure, after fupper flepe and natural refte, whiche they
ke to be of more ftrength and efficacie to wholfome
healthfull digeftion. No fupper is paffed without
icke. Nor their bankettes lacke no
ceytes nor ionketes. They burne fwete
ımes and fpices or perfumes, and pleafaunt
lles, and fprinckle aboute fwete oyntementes
waters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone that
teth for the cheringe of the companye. For
be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke
kinde of pleafure forbydden, whereof
ımeth no harme. Thus therfore and
r this fort they liue togethers in the citie,
in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from
neighboures, do dyne and fuppe at home in their
ıe houfes. For no familie there lacketh any kinde
of victualles, as from whom com-
meth all that the citezens
eate and lyue by.

This is repugnaunt to the opinion of our phisitions.

Musick at the table.

Pleasure without harme not discommendable.

¶ Of their iourneyng or trauayling abrode, with diuers other matters cunninglye reasoned, and wyttilye discussed.

BVt if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they haue licence to go that iourney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothynge furth with them, yet in all their iorney they lack nothing. For wherfoeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there euery one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined of the workemen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leaue, walke out of his precint and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitiue or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharpely punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey yat belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of ye contrei soeuer he commeth he hath no

meat geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his forenones taſke, or diſpatched ſo muche work, as there is wont to be wrought before ſupper. Obſeruing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he ſhalbe no les profitable to ye citie, then if he were within it. Now you ſe how litle liberte they haue to loiter: howe they can haue no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither winetauernes, nor ale houſes, nor ſtewes, nor anye occaſion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counſels or vnlawfull aſſembles. But they be in the preſente ſighte, and vnder the eies of euery man. So that of neceſſitie they muſt either apply their accuſtomed labours, or els recreate themſelues with honeſt and laudable paſtimes.

O holy common wealth, and of Christians to be folowed.

This faſhion and trade of life, being vſed amonge the people, it cannot be choſen, but that they muſte of neceſſitie haue ſtore and plentie of all thinges. And ſeyng they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counſell of Amaurot, whether, as I ſaid, euery citie ſendeth three men a pece yearly, aſſone as it is perfectly knowen of what thinges there is in euery place plentie, and againe what thinges be ſkant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and filled vp with the aboundaunce of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom ye thinges is giuen, but thoſe cities that haue geuen of their ſtore to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of ye ſame citie, do take ſuche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gaue nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or houſholde. But when they haue made ſufficient prouiſion of ſtore for themſelues (which they thinke not done, vntil they haue prouided for two yeres folowinge, becauſe of the vncertentie of the next yeares

Equalitie is the cause that euery man hath enoughe.

A common wealthe is nothing elles but a great household.

proffe) then of thoſe thinges, wherof they haue abundaunce, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyuinge beaſtes. And the ſeuenth parte of all theſe thynges they geue franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The reſidewe they ſell at a reaſonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundiſe, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and ſiluer, but alſo all ſuche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoſte nothinge but Iron. And by reaſon they haue longe vſed this trade, nowe they haue more aboundaunce of theſe thinges, then anye man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they ſell for readye money, or els vpon truſte to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooſte parte in debtes. But in ſo doynge they neuer followe the credence of priuat men: but the aſſuraunce or warrauntiſe of the whole citie, by inſtrumentes and writinges made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtoures, and putteth it into the common boxe, and ſo longe hathe the vſe and profite of it, vntill the Vtopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooſte parte of it they neuer aſke. For that thynge whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conſcience. But if the caſe ſo ſtand, that they muſt lende part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they haue warre. For the whiche purpoſe onelye they kepe at home all the treaſure, whiche they haue, to be holpen and ſocoured by it either in extreame ieopardyes, or in ſuddeine daungers. But eſpeciallye and chiefelie to hiere therewith, and that for vnreaſonable greate wayges, ſtraunge ſoldiours. For they hadde rather put ſtraungers in

The traffique and marchaundise of the Utopians.

In all thinges and aboue all thinges to their communitie thei haue an eye.

By what pollicie money may be in lesse estimation.

ieopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowynge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themſelues many times may be boughte or ſolde, or elles throughe treaſon be ſette togethers by the eares amonge themſelues. For this cauſe they kepe an ineſtimable treaſure. But yet not as a treaſure: but ſo they haue it, and vſe it, as in good faythe I am aſhamed to ſhewe: ſearinge that my woordes ſhall not be beleued. And this I haue more cauſe to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I meſelfe would haue beleued an other man tellinge the ſame, if I hadde not preſentlye ſene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by pollicie to avoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans bloud to fight.

O fine wytte.

For it muſte neades be, that howe farre a thynge is diſſonaunt and diſagreing from the guiſe and trade of the hearers, ſo farre ſhall it be out of their belefe. Howebeit, a wiſe and indifferent eſtimer of thynges, will not greatlye marueill perchaunce, ſeynge all theyr other lawes and cuſtomes do ſo muche differre from oures, yf the vſe alſo of gold and ſyluer amonge them be applied, rather to their owne faſhyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themſelues, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, ſo it maye be, that it ſhall neuer come to paſſe. In the meane time golde and ſyluer, whereof money is made, they do ſo vſe, as none of them doethe more eſteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deſerueth. And then who doeth not playnelye ſe howe farre it is vnder Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and ſiluer nature hath geuen no vſe, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not ſette it in higher eſtimation for the rareneſſe ſake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooſte tender and louynge mother, hathe placed the beſte and mooſte neceſſarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it ſelfe. And hathe remoued and hyd far-

Golde worse then yron as touchynge the necessarie vse therof.

theſt from vs vayne and vnprofitable thinges. Therefore if theſe metalles amonge them ſhoulde be faſte locked vp in ſome tower, it might be ſuſpected, that the prince and the counſell (as the people is euer fooliſhelie ymagininge) intended by ſome ſubtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take ſome profite of it to themſelues. Furthermore if they ſhold make therof plate and ſuch other finelie and cunninglie wroughte ſtuffe: if at anye time they ſhould haue occaſion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their ſouldiers wages, they ſee and perceaue verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from thoſe thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleaſure and delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, ſo it is from ours, where golde is ſo much ſet by, and ſo diligently kept, very farre diſcripant and repugnaunt: and therfore vncredible, but onelye to them that be wiſe. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glaſſe veſſelles, whiche in dede be curiouſlye and properlie made, and yet be of very ſmall value: of golde and ſyluer they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other veſſelles, that ſerue for moſte vile vſes, not onely in their common halles, but in euery mans priuate houſe. Furthermore of the ſame mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieues wherin the[y] tie their bondmen. Finally whoſoeuer for anye offenſe be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: vpon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: and in concluſion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes poſſible thei procure to haue golde and ſiluer among them in reproche and infamie. And theſe mettalles, which other nations do as greuouſly and ſorowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne liues: if they ſhould altogethers at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had loſt the worth of one farthing. They ga-

O wonderfull contumelie of golde.

Golde the reprochful badge of infamed persons.

ther alſo pearles by the ſea ſide, and Diamondes and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they ſeke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and poliſh them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the firſt yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of ſuch ornamentes, ſo when they be a litle more growen in yeares and diſcretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare ſuch toies and trifels: they lay them awaye euen of their owne ſhamefaſteneſſe, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: euen as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caſte awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore theſe lawes and cuſtomes, whiche be ſo farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantaſies alſo and myndes they doo cauſe, dydde I neuer ſo playnelie perceaue, as in the Ambaſſadours of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and precious stones, toyes for yonge children to playe withall.

Theſe Ambaſſadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And becauſe they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, thoſe three citizens a pece oute of euerie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambaſſadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the faſhions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaued no honoure geuen to ſumptuous apparell, ſilkes to be contemned, golde alſo to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and ſimple araie. But the Anemolianes becauſe they dwell farre thence, and had very litle a[c]quaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wiſe: determyned in the gorgiouſnes of their apparel to repreſente verye goddes, and wyth the brighte ſhyninge and gliſterynge of their gay clothing to daſell the eyes of the ſilie poore Utopians. So there came in. iii. Ambaſſadours with. c. [an hundred] ſeruauntes all apparelled in

A very pleasaunt tale.

chaungeable colours: the moſte of them in ſilkes: the Ambaſſadours themſelves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which gliſtered ful of peerles and precious ſtones: to be ſhort trimmed, and adourned with al thoſe thinges, which among the Utopians were either the puniſhement of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed perſones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue ſene howe proudelye they diſpleyed theire pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of theire paynted ſheathes, and howe loftely they ſet forth and aduaunced them ſelfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were ſwarmed forth into the ſtretes. And on the other ſide it was no leſſe pleaſure to conſider howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they miſſed of their purpoſe being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they ſhould haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for ſome reſonable cauſe, al that gorgeouſnes of apparrel ſeemed ſhamefull and reprocheful. In ſo muche that they moſt reuerently ſaluted the vileſt and moſt abiect of them for lordes: paſſing ouer the Ambaſſadoures themſelfes without any honour: iudging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you ſhoulde haue ſene children alſo, that had caſte away their peerles and pretious ſtones, when they ſawe the like ſticking vpon the Ambaſſadours cappes: digge and puſhe theire mothers vnder the ſides, ſainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and precious ſtoones, as though he were a litel child ſtil. But the mother, yea and that alſo in good earneſt: peace ſone, ſaithe ſhe: I thinke he be ſome of the Ambaſſadours fooles. Some founde faulte at theire

O wittie head.

golden cheines, as to no vſe nor purpoſe, being ſo ſmal and weake, that a bondeman might eaſely breake them, and agayne ſo wyde and large, that when it pleaſed him, he myght caſt them of, and runne awaye at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambasſadoures hadde bene there a daye or. ii. and ſawe ſo greate abundaunce of gold ſo lyghtely eſteimed, yea in no leſſe reproche, then it was with them in honour: and beſides that more golde in the cheines and gieues of one fugitiue bondman, then all the coſtelye ornamentes of them. iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very ſhame layde away al that gorgyouſe arraye, whereof they were ſo proud. And ſpecyally when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al theire faſſions and opinions.

Doubteful he calleth it, either in consideration and respecte of counterfeite stones, or elles he calleth doubteful very littel worthe.

For they marueyle that any men be ſo folyſhe, as to haue delite and pleaſure in the doubteful gliſteringe of a lytil tryffelynge ſtone, which maye beholde annye of the ſtarres, or elles the ſonne it ſelfe. Or that anye man is ſo madde, as to count him ſelfe the nobler for the ſmaller or fyner threde of wolle, which ſelfe ſame wol (be it now in neuer ſo fyne a ſponne threde) a ſhepe did ones weare: and yet was ſhe all that time no other thing then a ſhepe. They marueile alſo that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge ſo vnprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in ſo hyghe eſtimation, that man him ſelfe, by whome, yea and for the vſe of whome it is ſo much ſet by, is in muche leſſe eſtimation, then the golde it ſelfe. In ſo muche that a lumpyſhe blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an aſſe, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye, ſhall haue neuertheles manye wyſe and good men in ſubiectyon and bondage, only for this, bycauſe he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it ſhoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by ſome ſubtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whyche no leſſe then fortune dothe bothe raiſe vp the lowe, and plucke

A true saing and a wittie.

downe the highe) and be geuen to the moſte vile ſlaue and abiect drynell of all his houſholde, then ſhortely after he ſhal goo into the ſeruice of his ſeruaunt, as an augmentation nor ouerplus beſide his money. But they

Howe muche more witte is in the heades of the Utopianes then of the common sorte of christianes.

muche more maruell at and deteſt the madnes of them, whyche to thoſe riche men, in whoſe debte and daunger they be not, do gine almoſt diuine honoures, for none other conſideration, but bicauſe they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee ſuche nigeſhe penny fathers, that they be ſure as longe as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold ſhall come to them.

Theſe and ſuch like opinions haue they conceaued, partely by education, beinge brought vp in that common wealth, whoſe lawes and cuſtomes be farre different from theſe kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in euery citie, which be exempte and diſcharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to ſaye: ſuche in whome euen from theire very childhode they haue perceaued a ſingular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be inſtructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo beſtowe in learninge thoſe ſpare houres, which we ſayde

The studies and literature amonge the Utopianes.

they haue vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyue tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and alſo pleaſaunte to the eare: and for the vtteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and ſure. The mooſte parte of all that ſyde of the worlde vſeth the ſame langage, ſauinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneſte and pureſte, and accordinge to the diuerſytye of the countreys it is dyuerſlye alterede. Of all theſe Philoſophers, whoſe names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs knowen, before oure cummynge thether not aſmuche as the fame of annye of

them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Mufike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they haue founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philofophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almofte equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, fo oure newe Logiciens in fubtyl inuentions haue farre paffed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuyfed one of all thofe rules of reftrictions, amplifications and fuppofitions, verye wittelye inuented in the fmall Logicalles, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne. Furtheremore they were neuer yet hable to fynde out the feconde intentions: infomuche that none of them all coulde euer fee man himfelfe in commen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the courfe of the ftarres, and the mouynges of the heauenly fpheres verye expert and cunnynge. They haue alfo wittely excogitated and diuifed inftrumentes of diuers faffions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and fituations of the fonne, the mone, and of al the other ftarres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and diffentions of the planettes, and all that deceyteful diuination by the ftarres, they neuer afmuch as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courfes of tempeftes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they haue learned by long vfe and obferuation. But of the caufes of al thefe thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge, and faltenes of the fea, and finallye of the original begynnynge and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the fame opinions that oure olde Philofophers hold, and partely, as our Philofophers varye among themfelfes, fo they alfo, whiles they bringe newe reafons of thinges, do difagree from all them, and yet among themfelfes in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Phi-

Musike
Logike.
Arithemetike
Geometrie

In this place semethe to be a nipping taunte

Astronomie.

Yet amonge christians this geere is highli estemed thies daies.

Naturall philosophie is a knowledge most vncertein.

Moral philosophie.

losophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowments and giftes of the soule.

The order of good thinges.

They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almooste to muche geuen and enclyned to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marueled at) the defense of this soo deyntye and delicate an opinion, they fetche euen from theire graue, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. For they neuer dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuestigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake and vnperfecte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal: and by ye bountiful goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our euel deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleued and graunted by profes of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeuoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye auoydynge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that

The endes of good thinges.

The Utopianes holde opynion that felycytie consistethe in honest pleasure.

The principles of philosophye grounded vpon religion.

The theologie of the Utopianes.

The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christianes be in doubte.

pleaſure, whiche would bringe after it displeaſure, greeſe, and ſorrow. For they iudge it extreame madnes to ſolowe ſharpe and peinful vertue, and not only to banniſhe ye pleaſure of life, but alſo willingly to suffer griefe, without anye hope of proffit thereof enſuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath paſſed ouer all his lyfe vnpleaſauntly, that is to ſay, miſerablye, ſhall haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe ſyr they thinke not felicitie to reſte in all pleaſure, but only in that pleaſure that is good and honeſte, and that hereto, as to perfet bleſſednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be here vnto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the courſe of nature, which in defiering and reiuſinge thinges is ruled by reaſon. Furthermore that reaſon doth chiefely and principallye kendle in men the loue and veneration of the deuine maieſtie. Of whoſe goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in poſſibilitie to attayne felicite. And that ſecondarely it bothe ſtirrethe and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe oute of care in ioy and mirth, and alſo mouetr vs to helpe and further all other in reſpecte of ye ſociete of nature to obteine and enioye ye ſame. For there was neuer man ſo earneſt and paineful a follower of vertue and hater of pleaſure, yat wold ſo inioyne you labqures, watchinges, and faſtinges, but he would alſo exhort you to eaſe, lighten, and relieue, to your powre, ye lack and miſery of others, prayſing the ſame as a dede of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and ſpeciallye (which is a vertue moſte peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and aſſuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the ſorowe and heuynes of lyfe, to reſtore them to ioye, that is to ſaye to pleaſure: whie maye it not then be ſayd, that nature

As euery pleasure ought not to be inhaunced so grefe is not to be pursued but for vertues sake.

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians.

The worke and effecte of reason in man.

doth prouoke euerye man to doo the ſame to himſelfe? For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to ſay, a pleaſaunt lyfe is either euel: and if it be ſo, then thou ſhouldeſt not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noyſome and hurteful, or els if thou not only mayſte, but alſo of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefely to the ſelfe? To whome thou art bound to ſhew aſmuch ſauoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other ſhe commaundeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the ſelfe. Therefore euen very nature (ſaye they) preſcribeth to vs a ioyful lyfe, that is to ſay, pleaſure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the preſcripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to healpe another to lyue merily (which ſuerly ſhe doth not without a good cauſe: for no man is ſo farre aboue the lotte of mans ſtate or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye ſauourethe all, that be comprehended vnder the communion of one ſhape forme and faſſion) verely ſhe commaundeth the to vſe diligent circumſpection, that thou do not ſo ſeke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and faythefullye fulfilled, obſerued, and kepte, but alſo commen lawes, whiche either a good prince hath iuſtly publyſhed, or els the people neither oppreſſed with tyrannye, neither deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by theire common conſent conſtituted and ratifyed, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to ſay, the matter of pleaſure. Theſe lawes not offended, it is wyſdome, that thou looke to thine own

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyllinglye procure vnto themselues painefull griefes, as thoughe therin rested some hieghe pointe of religion, whereas rather the religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought pacientlye to receaue and suffer them.

Bargaynes and Lawes.

wealthe. And to doe the ſame for the common wealth is no leſſe then thy duetie, if thou beareſt any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natiue countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleaſure, whiles thou procureſt thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyſe to withdrawe ſomethinge from the ſelfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye ſo muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompenſed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conſcience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou haſt done it, doth bringe more pleaſure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou haſt withholden from thy ſelfe could haue brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly diſpoſed and a religious mind is eaſy to be perſuaded) God recompenſeth the gifte of a ſhort and ſmal pleaſure with great and euerlaſtinge ioye. Therfore the matter diligently weyede and conſidered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themſelfes be referred at the laſt to pleaſure, as their ende and felicitie. Pleaſure they call euery motion and ſtate of the bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cauſe. For like as, not, only the ſenſes, but alſo right reaſon coueteth whatſoeuer is naturally pleaſaunt, for yat it may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleaſure, nor cauſing painiul labour, euen ſo thoſe thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne againſt nature to be pleaſaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge ye thinges, as they do ye names of thinges) al ſuche pleaſures they beleue to be of ſo ſmall helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderaunce. Becauſe that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they poſſeſſe with a falſe opinion of pleaſure. So that there is no place left for true and

The mutual recourse of kindnes.

The definition of Pleasure.

False and counterfeate pleasures.

naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no pleſauntnes: yea the moſte parte of them muche grieſe and ſorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerſe and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and vnhoneſte deſyres, be taken not only for ſpeciall and ſouereigne pleaſures, but alſo be counted amonge the chieſe cauſes of life. In this counterfeat kinde of pleaſure they put them that I ſpake of before. Whiche the better gownes they haue on, the better men they thinke them ſelfes. In the which thing they doo twyie erre. For they be no leſſe deceaued in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themſelfes the better For if you conſider the profitable vſe of the garmente, whye ſhould wulle of a fyner ſponne threde, be thoug[h]t better, than the wul of a courſe ſponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did paſſe the other by nature, and not by their miſtakyng, auaunce themſelfes, and thinke the price of their owne perſones thereby greatly encreaſed. And therefore the honour, which in a courſe gowne they durſte not haue loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr ſyner gownes ſake. And if they be paſſed by without reuerence, they take it diſpleaſauntly and diſdainfullye.

The errour of them that esteme themselfes the more for apparelles sake.

And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleaſure doeſt thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this eaſe the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrenſie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleaſure, they be of a maruelous madneſſe, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyſe muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their fortune to come of ſuche auncetoures, whoſe ſtocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) ſpeciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themſelues haue pyſſed it agaynſte the walles, yet

Folish honore.

Vaine nobilitie.

they thinke themſelues not the leſſe noble therfore of one heare. In this number alſo they counte them that take pleaſure and delite (as I ſaid) in gemmes and precious ſtones, and thynke themſelues almoſte goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, ſpeciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men, is had in hygheſt eſtimation. For one kynde of ſtone kepeth not his pryce ſtyll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor ſo neither, vntyll they haue made the ſeller to ſweare, that he will warraunte and aſſure it to be a true ſtone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take leſt a counterfeite ſtone ſhould deceaue their eyes in ſteade of a ryghte ſtone. But why ſhouldeſt thou not take euen aſmuche pleaſure in beholdynge a counterfeite ſtone, whiche thine eye cannot diſcerne from a righte ſtone? They ſhoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, euen as to the blynde man. What ſhall I ſaye of them, that kepe ſuperfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the vſe or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleaſure, or elles be thei deceaued with falſe pleaſure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they ſhall neuer occupye, nor peraduenture neuer ſe more? And whiles they take care leaſte they ſhall leeſe it, do leeſe it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe from their owne vſe, and perchaunce frome all other mennes alſo? And yet thou, when thou haſte hydde thy treaſure, as one out of all care, hoppeſt for ioye. The whiche treaſure, yf it ſhoulde chaunce to bee ſtolen. and thou ignoraunt of the thefte ſhouldeſt dye tenne years after: all that tenne yeares ſpace that thou lyuedeſt after thy money was ſtoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles ſafe as thou leſteſte

Pleasure in precious stones most folish.

The opinion and fansie of people doeth augment and diminishe the price and estimation of precious stones.

Beholders of treasure, not occupiyng the same.

Hyders of treasure.

A prettie fiction and a wittie.

it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To these so foolyshe pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose madnesse they knowe by hearsay, and not by vse. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (say they) in castinge the dice vpon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft vse might make thee werie thereof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnynge, yf thou haste pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beaste doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moued with pitie to see a selye innocente hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the fearce, the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull.

Dice playe.

Huntinge and hawkinge.

Therefore all thys exercyse of huntynge, as a thynge vnworthye to be vsed of free men, the Utopians haue reiected to their bouchers to the whiche craste (as we sayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abiecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Where as the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into crueltie, by longe vse of so cruell a pleasure. These therfore and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to haue no affinitie with trew and right

Hunting the basest parte of bouchers among the Utopians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men.

pleaſure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye moue the ſenſe with delectation (whiche ſemeth to be a woorke of pleaſure) this doeth nothynge diminiſhe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerſe and lewde cuſtome is the cauſe hereof. Whiche cauſeth them to accept bitter or ſowre thynges for ſwete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taſte, thynke pytche and tallowe ſweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente deprauedand corrupte, either by ſyckenes, or by cuſtome, can chaunge the nature of pleaſure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make diuers kindes of pleaſures. For ſome they attribute to the ſoule, and ſome to the body. To the ſoule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleaſaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paſte. The pleaſure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The firſt is when delectation is ſenſibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreſhing of thoſe partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And ſometymes whyles thoſe thynges be expulſed, and voyded, wherof is in the body ouer great abundaunce. This pleaſure is felt, when we do our natural eaſement, or when we be doyng the acte of generation, or when the ytchinge of any part is eaſed with rubbyng or ſcratchynge. Sometimes pleaſure riſeth exhibitinge to any membre nothynge that it deſireth, nor takynge from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuertheleſſe tikleth and moueth oure ſenſes wyth a certeine ſecrete efficacie, but with a manifeſt motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of muſicke. The ſeconde parte of bodely pleaſure they ſay, is that which conſiſteth and reſteth in the quiete, and vpryghte ſtate of the bodye. And that trewlye is euerye mannes owne propre health entermingled and dis-

The kindes of trew pleasures.

The pleasures of the bodye.

Bodily health.

turbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor aſſaulted with no greif, is delectable of it ſelfe, thoughe it be moued with no externall or outwarde pleaſure. For though it be not ſo plain and manyfeſte to the ſenſe, as the gredye luſte of eatynge and drynkynge, yet neuertheleſſe manye take it for the chiefeſte pleaſure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right ſouereigne pleaſure, and as you woulde ſaye the foundation and grounde of all pleaſures, as whiche euen alone is hable to make the ſtate and condition of life delectable and pleaſaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place leſte for any pleaſure. For to be without greife not hauinge health, that they call vnſenſibilitie, and not pleaſure. The Utopians haue long a go reiected and condempned the opinion of them, whiche ſayde that ſtedfaſte and quiete healthe (for this queſtion alſo hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleaſure, bycauſe they ſaye it can not be preſentlye and ſenſiblye perceaued and felte by ſome outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooſte all in this, that healthe is a mooſt ſoueraigne pleaſure. For ſeynge that in ſyckneſſe (ſaye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleaſure, euen as ſicknes is to health, why ſhould not then pleaſure be in the quietnes of health? For they ſay it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you ſaye that ſyckneſſe is a griefe, or that in ſickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpoſe. For whether health be a pleaſure it ſelfe, or a neceſſary cauſe of pleaſure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe waye it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleaſure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (ſay they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againſte hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the vpper hande, that ſame procedyng, and (as ye would ſay) that onwardnes to the wonte ſtrength miniſtreth that pleaſure, whereby we be ſo refreſhed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is ioyefull, ſhall it not be mery, when it

hath gootten the victorie? But as ſoone as it hathe recouered the priſtinate ſtrength, which thing onely in all the fight it coueted, ſhal it incontinent be aſtonied? Nor ſhal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is ſaid, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, ſay they, ſelethe not himſelfe in health: but he that is not? Is there anye man ſo poſſeſſed with ſtoniſhe inſenſibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to ſay, the ſleping ſicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleaſure? They imbrace chieflie the pleaſures of the mind. For them they counte the chiefiſt and moſt principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exerciſe of vertue, and conſcience of good life. Of theſe pleaſures that the body miniſtreth, they geue ye preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatſoeuer hath any like pleaſauntnes, they determyne to be pleaſures muche to be deſired, but no other wayes than for healthes ſake. For ſuche thinges of their own proper nature be not ſo pleaſaunt, but in that they reſiſte ſickneſſe priuelie ſtealing on. Therfore like as it is a wiſe mans part, rather to auoid ſicknes, then to wiſhe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: ſo it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleaſure, then thereby to be eaſed of the contrarie griefe. The whiche kinde of pleaſure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man muſt nedes graunt, that then he ſhalbe in moſt felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurſte, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, ſcratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and vnhoneſt, but alſo howe miſerable, and wretched it is, who perceueth not? Theſe doubtles be the baſeſt pleaſures of al, as vnpure and vnperfect. For they neuer come, but accompanied with their contrarie

Delectation.

The pleasures of the mynde.

griefes. As with the pleafure of eating is ioyned hunger, and yat after no very egal fort. For of thefe. ii. ye griefe is both the more vehement, and alfo of longer continuaunce. For it beginneth before the pleafure, and endeth not vntil the pleafure die with it. Wherefore fuche pleafures they thinke not greatlye to be fet by, but in yat thei be neceffari. Howbeit they haue delite alfo in thefe, and thankfulli knowledge ye tender loue of mother nature, which with moft pleafaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the neceffarie vfe wherof they muft from time to time continually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miferable fhould our life be, if thefe dailie greffes of hunger and thurft coulde not be driuen awaye, but with bitter potions, and fower medicines, as the other diffeafes be, wherewith we be feldomer troubled? But beutie, ftrengthe, nemblenes, thefe as peculiar and pleafaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But thofe pleafures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the nofe, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any refpecte of fauours, but onely for the diuerfitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordaunte and difcordant diftaunces of foundes, and tunes) thefe pleafures, I fay, they accept and alowe as certen pleafaunte reioyfinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they vfe, that a leffe pleafure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleafure be no caufe of difpleafure, whiche they thinke to folow of neceffitie, if the pleafure be vnhonefte. But yet to difpife the comlines of bewtie, to waft the bodelie ftrength, to turne nimblenes into floughifhneffe, to confume and make feble the bodie with faftinge, to do iniurie to healthe, and to reiecte the pleafaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte thefe commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleafure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater

The giftes of nature.

pleaſure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine ſhaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to puniſhe himſelfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouſlie to ſuffer aduerſitie: which perchaunce ſhall neuer come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towardes himſelfe, and vnkind towards nature, as one ſo diſdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuſeth all her benefites.

This is their ſentence and opinion of vertue and pleaſure. And they beleue that by mans reaſon none can be found trewer then this, onles any godlyer be inſpired into man from heuen. Wherin whether they beleue well or no neither the time doth ſuffer vs to diſcuſſe neither it is nowe neceſſarie. For we haue taken vpon vs to ſhewe and declare their lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thynge I beleue verely: howe ſoeuer theſe decres be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flouriſhynge commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of actiuitie and nimblenes, and of more ſtrength then a man woulde iudge them by their ſtature, which for all that is not to lowe. And thoughe theyr ſoyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholſome, yet againſte the ayer they ſo defende them with temperate diete, and ſo order and huſbande their grounde with diligente trauaile, that in no countrey is greater increaſe, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and ſubiect or apte to fewer diseaſes. There therfore a man maye ſee well, and diligentlie exploited and furniſhed, not onelye thoſe thinges whiche huſbandemen do commenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes of the grounde: but alſo a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and ſet againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and conſideration, not of plenty, but of commodious

Marke this well.

The wealthe and description of the Utopians.

carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the ſea, or the riuers, or, ye cities. For it is leſſe laboure and buſineſſe to carri grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and ſuffer much bodelie laboure. Els they be not greatly deſirous and fond of it: but in the exerciſe and ſtudie of the mind they be neuer wery. When they had herd me ſpeak of ye greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, beſides hiſtoriens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earneſte and importunate ſute vnto me that I would teach and inſtructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them, at the firſt truelie more bicauſe I would not ſeme to refuſe the laboure, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure ſhould not be beſtowed in vaine. For they began ſo eaſelie to faſhion their letters, ſo plainlie to pronounce the woordes, ſo quickelie to learne by hearte, and ſo fuerlie to rehearſe the ſame, that I maruailed at it, ſauinge that the moſt parte of them were fine, and choſen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but alſo by the commaundemente of the counſell, vndertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in leſſe then thre yeres ſpace there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie ſtaye, if the booke were not falſe. This kynde of learninge, as I ſuppoſe, they toke ſo muche the ſooner, bycauſe, it is ſumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicauſe their ſpeche, which in al other poyntes is not much vnlyke the Perſian tonge, kepeth dyuers ſignes and tokens of the

The vtilitie of the greke tonge.

A wonderfull aptnes to learninge in the Utopians.

But now most blockheded asses be sette to learninge, and most pregnaunt wittes corrupt with pleasures

greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magiſtrates. They haue of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caſte into the ſhippe in the ſteade of marchandiſe a prety fardel of bookes, bycauſe I intended to come againe rather neuer, than ſhortly) they haue, I ſaye, of me the moſte parte of Platoes workes, more of Ariſtotles, alſo Theophraſtus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am ſorye for) vnperfecte. For whiles we were a ſhipborde, a marmoſet chaunced vpon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked oute certeyne leaues, and toore them in pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the grammer, they haue onelye Laſcaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor neuer a dictionayre, but Heſichius, and Dioſcorides. They ſett greate ſtoore by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and ieſtes. Of the Poetes they haue Ariſto phanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus ſmall prynte. Of the Hiſtorians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Alſo my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phiſick bokes, certein ſmal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they haue in greate eſtimation. For thoughe there be almoſt no nation vnder heauen that hath leſſe nede of Phiſicke then they, yet this notwithſtandyng, Phiſicke is no where in greater honour. Bycauſe they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeſte, and moſt profytable partes of Philoſophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philoſophie ſearche oute the ſecrete myſteryes of nature, they thinke themſelfes to receaue therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleaſure, but alſo to obteine great thankes and fauour of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke according to ye faſſion of other artificers, to haue ſet furth the maruelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentiuely to beholde. Whom only he hath

Phisicke hieghly regarded.

The contemplacion of nature.

made of witte, and capacitie to conſidre and vnderſtand the excellencie of ſo great a woork. And therefore he beareth (ſay they) more goodwil and loue to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and maruelour at the ſame, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaſte without witte and reaſon, or as one without ſenſe or mouing, hathe no regarde to ſoo greate and ſoo wonderfull a ſpectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inurede and exerciſed in learnynge, be marueilous quycke in the inuention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the aduantage and wealthe of lyffe. Howbeit. ii. feates theye maye thanke vs for. That is, the ſcyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye vs but chiefelye and principallye themſelfes.

For when we ſhewede to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the ſtuffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters, ſpeaking ſumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely coniectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in ſkinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughe at the firſt yt proued not all of the beſte, yet by often affayinge the ſame they ſhortelye got the feate of bothe. And haue ſo broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they haue no moore, then I rehearſed before, ſauinge that by pryntynge of bookes they haue multiplyed and increaſed the ſame into manye thouſandes of copies. Whoſoeuer cummethe thether to ſee the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte o wytte, or throug[h]e muche and longe iournienge wel experienſed and ſene in the knoweledg[e] of many countreies (for the whyche cauſe wee were very welcome to them) him they receyue and interteyne wonders gentilly, and louinglye. For they haue delite to heare what is done in euerye lande,

howbeit verye fewe merchaunte men come thether. For what ſhoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and ſiluer, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Alſo ſuch thinges as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wyſedome to carry that gere furthe themſelfes, then that other ſhoulde come thether to fetche it, to th[e] entente they maye the better knowe the out landes on euerye ſyde of them, and kepe in vre the feate and knowledge of ſailinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and diuers other matters.

THey neither make bondemen of priſoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them ſelfes, nor of bondmens children, nor to be ſhort, of anye ſuche as they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But either ſuche, as amonge themſelfes for heinous offences be punyſhed with bondage, or elles ſuche, as in the Cities of other landes for great treſpaſſes be condempned to deathe. And of this ſort of bondemen they haue mooſte ſtoore.

A maruelous equitie of this nation.

For manye of them they bringe home ſumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooſte commonlye gettynge them for gramercye. Theſe ſortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but alſo in bandes. But their oune men they handle hardeſt, whom they Iudge more deſperate, and to haue deſerued greater puniſſhemente, bycauſe they being ſo godlye broughte vp to vertue in ſoo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refreined from

misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other countrey doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as theire owne free cytyzeins, sauynge that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye suche, be disposed to departe thens (whiche seldome is seene) they neither holde him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes. The sycke (as I sayde) they see to with great affection, and lette nothing at al passe concerninge either Phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye vncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguishe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyuinge his owne deathe is noysome and irkesome to other, and greuous to himselfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cherysshe that pestilent and peineful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche himselfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lose no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the pryestes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finysshe theire liues willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in theire sleape without anye fealing of deathe. But they cause none suche to dye

Of them that be sicke.

Voluntarye deathe.

agaynſte his wyll, nor they vſe no leſſe dilygence and attendaunce aboute him: beleuinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himſelf before that the pryeſtes and the counſel haue allowed the cauſe of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be conſumed, they caſte vnburied into ſome ſtinkinge marriſh. The woman is not maried before ſhe be xviii. yeres olde. The man iiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before theire marriage, with an other, the partye that ſo hathe treſpaced is ſharpelye puniſhed. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al theire lyfe to marrye: oneles the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the houſe, where that offenſe was committed as beinge ſlacke and neglygent in lokinge to theire chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamye. That offenſe is ſo ſharpely punyſhed, bicauſe they perceaue, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe muſt be led with one, and alſo all the griefes and diſpleaſures com ming therewith paciently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chueſinge wyfes and huſbandes they obſerue earneſtly and ſtraytelye a cuſtome, whiche ſemed to vs very fonde and folyſhe. For a ſad and an honeſt matrone ſheweth the woman, be ſhe mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyſe a ſage and diſcrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this cuſtome we laughed, and diſalowed it as fooliſhe. But they on the other parte doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, whereas a lytle money is in haſarde, be ſo charye and circumſpecte, that thoughe he be almoſte all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the ſaddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaſte vnder thoſe couerynges be hydde, ſom galle or ſoore. And yet in chueſinge a wyfe,

Of wedlocke

Thoughe not verie honestly, yet not vnwiselye.

whyche ſhalbe either pleaſure, or diſpleaſure to them all theire lyſe after, they be ſo recheles, that al the reſydewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with cloothes, they eſteme her ſcaſelye be one handebredeth (for they can ſe no more but her face) and ſo to ioyne her to them not without greate ieoperdye of euel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward ſhould chaunce of offend and myſlyke them.

For all men be not ſo wyſe, as to haue reſpecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cauſe the vertues of the minde more to be eſtemed and regarded: yea euen in the mariages of wyſe men. Verely ſo foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder thoſe coueringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyſe, when it ſhal not be lawful for theire bodies to be ſeparate agayne. If ſuche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is conſummate and finyſhed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Euery man muſte take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe were made wherebye all ſuche deceytes myghte be eſchewed, and aduoyded before hande.

And this were they conſtreyned more earneſtlye to looke vpon, becauſe they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymoneie is there neuer broken, but by death: excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde themſelfe for any ſuch cauſe greued: they maye by the licenſe of the counſel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamye, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the huſbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that ſome myſhappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll ſuffre. For they iudge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moſte nede of helpe and comforte, ſhoulde be caſte of and forſaken,

Diuorcement.

and that olde age, whych both bringeth ſicknes with it, and is a ſyckenes it ſelfe, ſhould vnkindly and vnfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunſeth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betw[e]ne themſelfes, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full conſente of them bothe be diuorſed a ſonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counſell. Whiche agreeth to no diuorſes, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then alſo they be lothe to conſent to it, bycauſe they know this to be the next way to break loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in eaſye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyſhed with mooſte greuous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe haue ſufferede wrong, beinge diuorſed from the auoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they luſt. But if either of them both do ſtyl continewe in loue towarde ſo vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vſe of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faulteles be diſpoſed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the perſon, which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very oſte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earneſte diligence of the other, dothe ſo moue the prince with pytie and compaſſion, that he reſtoreth the bonde perſone from ſeruitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the ſame partie be taken eftſones in that faulte, there is no other waye but death. To other treſpaces no preſcript puniſhmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynouſenes of the offenſe, or contrarye, ſo the puniſhemente is moderated by the diſcretion of the counſell. The huſbandes chaſtice theire wyfes: and the parentes theire children, oneles they haue done anye ſo horryble an offenſe, that the open punyſhemente thereof maketh muche for the aduauncemente

The decerning of punishment putte to the discretion of the magistrates.

of honeſte maners. But moſte commenlye the moſte heynous faultes be punyſhed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they ſuppoſe to be to the offenders no leſſe griefe, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they ſhould haſtely put them to death, and ſo make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenſes. But if they beinge thus vſed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forſothe they be ſlayne as deſperate and wilde beaſtes, whom neither priſon nor chaine coulde reſtraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take theire bondage pacientlye, be not leſte all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with long miſeries, if then thei ſhewe ſuch repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaued that they be ſoryer for theire offenſe then for their punyſhemente: ſumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyue, and ſumtymes by the voyce and conſent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane releaſed and forgeuen. He that moueth to aduoutreye is in no leſſe daunger and ieoperdie, then yf he hadde committed aduoutrye in dede. For in all offenſes they counte the intente and pretenſed purpoſe as euel, as the acte or dede it ſelfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuſe him, that did his beſte to haue no lette. They haue ſingular delite and pleaſure in foles. And as it is a greate reproche to do annye of them hurte or iniury, ſo they prohibite not to take pleaſure of foolyſhnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be ſo ſadde, and ſterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare leaſt he would not intreate them gentilly and fauorably enough: to whom they ſhould brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche leſſe anye proffite ſhoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his de-

Motion to aduoutrye paniſhed.

pleaſure of fooles.

formitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate diſhoneſtye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwyſely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eſchewe. Alſo as they counte and reken verye little witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlineſſe, ſo to helpe the ſame with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not without greate infamie. For they knowe euen by very experience, that no comelineſſe of bewtye doethe ſo hyghelye commende and auaunce the wiues in the conceite of their huſbandes, as honeſt conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewty, ſo it is not kept, preſerued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doyng euil by puniſhmentes, but alſo allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they ſet vp in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of ſuch as haue bene great and bounteful benefactors to the commen wealth, for ye perpetual memorie of their good actes: and alſo that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye ſtyrre and prouoke their poſteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiouſly deſireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer atteining any promotion as long as he liueth. They lyue together louinglye. For no magiſtrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they vſe themſelues. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite vnto them dew honour without any compulſion. Nor the prince himſelfe is not knowen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of ſtate, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a litle ſheffe of corne caried before him. And ſo a taper of wax is borne before ye biſhop, wherby onely he is knowen. They haue but few

Counterfeite bewtie.

Sinne punished and vertue rewarded.

The inordinate desire of honours condemned.

Magistrates honoured.

Fewe lawes. lawes. For to people ſo inſtructe and inſtitute very fewe do ſuffice. Yea this thing they chiefely reproue among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expoſitions vpon the ſame be not ſufficient. But they think it againſt all right and iuſtice that men ſhoulde be bound to thoſe lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man can well vnderſtande them. Furthermore they vtterlie exclude and baniſhe all attorneis, proctours, and ſergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell matters, and ſubtelly diſpute of the lawes. For they thinke it moſte meete, that euery man ſhould pleade his own matter, and tel the ſame tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his man of law. So ſhal there be leſſe circumſtaunce of wordes, and the trueth ſhall ſoner come to light, whiles the iudge with a diſcrete iudgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath inſtructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out ſimple wittes againſt the falſe and malicious circumuentions of craftie children. This is harde to be obſerued in other countreis, in ſo infinitie a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia euery man is a cunning lawier. For (as I ſaid) they haue very few lawes: and the plainer and groſſer that anye interpretation is: that they allowe as moſt iuſte. For all lawes (ſaie they) be made and publyſhed onely to the intente, that by them euery man ſhoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and ſubtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembraunce, where as the ſimple, the plaine, and groſſe meaninge of the lawes is open to euerye man.

The multitude of lawyers superfluous.

The intent of lawes.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare ſort of the people, whiche be bothe mooſte in number, and haue moſte nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe ſo blynde an interpretation vpon it, that

without greate witte and longe arguynge no man can diſcuſſe it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther the groſſe iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their liuynges, canne ſuffice thereto. Theſe vertues of the Utopians haue cauſed their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche liue fre and vnder no ſubiection (for the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them from tirannie) to take magiſtrates of them, ſome for a yeare, and ſome for fiue yeares ſpace. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praiſe, and take new againe with them into their countrey. Theſe nations haue vndoubtedlye very well and holſomely prouided for their common wealthes. For ſeynge that bothe the makinge and marringe of the weale publique, doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the rulers and magiſtrates, what officers coulde they more wyſelye haue choſen, then thoſe which can not be ledde from honeſtye by bribes (for to them that ſhortly after ſhal depart thens into their own countrey money ſhould be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with fauoure, or malice towardes any man, as beyng ſtraungers, and vna[c]quainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and auarice, where they take place in iudgementes, incontinente they breake iuſtice, the ſtrongeſt and ſuereſt bonde of a common wealth Theſe peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And other to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call their frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey be ſo ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neue. make none with anie nation. For to what purpoſe ſerue leagues, ſay they? As thoughe nature had not ſet ſufficient loue betwene man and man. And who ſo regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will paſſe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, becauſe that in thoſe partes of the worlde, leagues be-

Of leagues.

twene princes be wont to be kepte and obſerued very ſklenderly. For here in Europa, and eſpeciallye in theſe partes where the faith and religion of Chriſte reigneth, the maieſtie of leagues is euerye where eſtemed holy and inuiolable: partlie through the iuſtice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Biſhops. Which like as they make no promiſſe themſelues, but they do verye religiouſlye perfourme the ſame, ſo they exhorte all princes in any wiſe to abide by their promiſſes, and them that refuſe or denye ſo to do, by their pontificall powre, and authoritie they compell thereto. And ſurely they thinke well that it might ſeme a verye reprochefull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith ſhould haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is ſcaſelie ſo farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be diffident from theirs, no truſt nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte vp with, the ſoner it is broken by ſome cauillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpoſe be ſo craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes can neuer be ſo ſure nor ſo ſtronge, but they will find ſome hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they ſhould know it to be practiſed among priuate men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth, and a ſower countenaunce, as an offenſe moſte deteſtable, and worthye to be punnyſhed with a ſhamefull deathe: yea euen very they that auaunce themſelues authours of lyke counſell geuen to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al iuſtice is but a baſſe and a low vertue, and which aualeth it ſelf farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the leaſt wiſe, that there be two iuſtices, the one meete for the inferiour ſorte of the people, goynge a fote and crepynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on euery ſide

with many bandes, bycauſe it ſhall not run atrouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher maieſtie, then the other pore iuſtice, ſo alſo it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. Theſe maners of princes (as I ſaid) whiche be there ſo euell kepers of leagues, cauſe the Utopians, as I ſuppoſe, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they liued here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be neuer ſo faithfullye obſerued and kepte, yet the cuſtome of makynge leagues was very euell begon. For this cauſeth men (as though nations which be ſeperat a ſondre, by ye ſpace of a litle hil or a riuer, were coupled together by no ſocietie or bonde of nature) to thinke themſelues borne aduerſaries and enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to ſeke the death and deſtruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after ye leagues be accorded, frendſhip doth not grow and encreſe: But the licence of robbing and ſtealing doth ſtyll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of forſight and aduiſement in writing the wordes of the league, any ſentence or clauſe to the contrarie is not therin ſufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowſhippe of nature is a ſtronge league: and that men be better and more ſurely knit togethers by loue and beneuolence, then by couenauntes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.

Arre or battel as a thing very beaſtly, and yet to no kinde of beaſtes in ſo muche vſe as to man, they do deteſt and abhorre. And contrarie to the cuſtome almooſte of all other nations, they counte nothynge

ſo muche againſt glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughe they do daylie practiſe and exerciſe themſelues in the diſcipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but alſo the women vpon certen appointed daies, leſt they ſhould be to ſeke in the feate of armes, if nede ſhould require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to driue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yocke and bondage of tirannye ſome people, that be therewith oppreſſed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compaſſion. Howbeit they ſende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence. But ſometymes alſo to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onleſſe their counſell and aduiſe in the matter be aſked, whiles it is yet newe and freſhe. For if they finde the cauſe probable, and if the contrarie part wil not reſtoore agayne ſuche thynges as be of them iuſtelye demaunded, then they be the chieſe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuaſions of ſoldiours praies and booties be driuen awaye, but then alſo muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuſte lawes, or elles by the wreſtinge and wronge vnderſtandinge of good lawes, do ſuſteine an vniuſt accuſation vnder the colour of iuſtice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes againſt the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cauſe, but that the Nephelogete marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, ſuffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with ſo cruel and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis rounde about ioyninge their helpe and powre to the purſaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moſte floriſhing and wealthy peoples, being ſome of them ſhrewedly ſhaken, and ſome of them ſharpely beaten, the miſcheues wer not finiſhed nor ended, vn-

til the Alaopolitanes, at the laſt were yelded vp as bondemen into the iuriſdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themſelues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flouriſhed in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians proſequute the iniuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewiſe. For if they by coueyne or gile be wiped beſide their goodes, ſo that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by abſteininge from occupieng with that nation, vntil they haue made ſatiſfaction. Not forbicauſe they ſet leſſe ſtoore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the loſſe of their frendes money more heuelie then ye loſſe of their own. Bicauſe that their frendes marchaunte men, foraſmuche as that they leiſe is their own priuate goods, ſuſteine great dammage by the loſſe. But their owne citizeyns leiſe nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almoſt ſuperfluous, els had it not bene ſent furth. Therfore no man feleth the loſſe. And for this cauſe they thinke it to cruell an acte, to reuenge that loſſe with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which loſſe no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a priuate counſel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambaſſadours, onleſſe the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they will not be appeaſed: but incontinent they proclaime warre againſt them. The offenders yelded, they puniſhe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only ſory, but alſo aſhamed to atchieue the victorie with bloudſhed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They reioyſe and auaunt themſelues, if they vanquiſhe and oppreſſe their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they

Victorie deare bought.

make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they ſet vp a pyller of ſtone in the place where they ſo vanquiſhed their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaſte, and cracke that they haue plaied the men in deede, when they haue ſo ouercommen, as no other liuing creature but onely man could: that is to ſaye, by the by the mighte and puiſaunce of wit. For with bodily ſtrength (ſay they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beaſtes do fight. And as the moſte part of them do paſſe vs in ſtrength and fierce courage, ſo in wit and reaſon we be much ſtronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpoſe in warre, is to ob teine that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not haue moued battell. But if that be not poſſible, they take ſo cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chieſe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and firſt of al proſequute, and ſetforwarde. But yet ſo, that they be more circumſpecte, in auoidinge and eſchewynge ieopardies, then they be deſierous of prayſe and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones ſolemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations ſigned with their owne commen ſeale to be ſet vp priuilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moſte frequented. In theſe proclamations they promiſſe greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and ſome what leſſe giftes, but them verye greate alſo, for euerye heade of them, whoſe names be in the ſaide proclamations conteyned. They be thoſe whom they count their chiefe aduerſaries, next vnto the prince. Whatſoeuer is preſcribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed perſons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the ſame to them aliue: yea, and to the proclaimed perſones themſelues, if they wil chaunge their mindes, and come into them, taking their partes, they profer the ſame greate rewardes with pardone, and ſuertie of their liues. Therefore it quickely commeth to paſſe that their ene-

mies haue all other men in ſuſpicion, and be vnfaithfull, and miſtruſting among themſelues one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no leſſe ieopardie. For it is well knowen, that diuers times the moſt part of them (and ſpeciallie the prince him ſelfe) hathe bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moſte hope and truſt. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no meaſure. But remembring and conſidering into how great haſarde and ieopardie they cal them, endeuoure themſelues to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promiſe not only wonderful greate abundaunce of golde, but alſo landes of greate reuenues lieng in moſt ſaffe places among theire frendes. And theire promiſſes they perfourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or couyne. This cuſtome of byinge and ſellynge aduerſaryes among other people is dyſallowed, as a cruel acte of a baſſe and a cowardyſhe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themſelfes muche prayſe woorthy, as who lyke wyſe men by this meanes diſpatche greate warres withoute anny battell or ſkyrmyſhe. Yea they counte it alſo a dede of pytye and mercye, bicauſe that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate numbre of innocentes, aſwel of theire oune men as alſo of theire enemies be raunſomed and ſaued, which in fighting ſhoulde haue bene ſleane. For they doo no leſſe pytye the baſſe and common ſorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne: knowing yat they be driuen and enforced to warre againſte their willes by the furyous madnes of theire princes and heades. Yf by none of theſe meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occayſons of debate, and diſſention to be ſpredde amonge theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or ſome of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye preuayle not, then they reyſe vp the people that be nexte neyghboures and borderers to theire enemyes, and them they

ſette in theire neckes vnder the coloure of ſome olde tytle of ryghte, ſuch as kynges doo neuer lacke. To them they promyſſe theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abundaunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they ſende to them ſewe or none. Whome they make ſo much of, and loue ſo intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their aduerſaries prince. But their gold and ſiluer, bycauſe they kepe it all for thys only purpoſe, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who ſhoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde beſtowed it euerye pennye. Yea and beſydes theire ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei haue alſo an infinite treaſure abrode, by reaſon that (as I ſayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hiere ſoldiours oute of all countreis and ſende them to battayle, but cheifly of the zapoletes. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia eaſtewarde. They be hideous, ſauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and ſuſteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no huſbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houſes and in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringynge vp of cattel. The moſte parte of theire lyuinge is by huntynge and ſtealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earneſtelye ſeke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes together, and who ſoeuer lackethe ſouldyours, there they proffer theire ſeruice for ſmall wages. This is onelye the craſte they haue to gette theire liuynge by. They maynteyne theire lyfe, by ſekinge theire deathe. For them whomewyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye, fyerflye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themſelfes for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this condition they

entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other ſyde for greatter wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherein is not a greate numbre of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chauncethe that nye kynſefolke whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye vſed themſelfes one wyth another, ſhortely after beinge ſeparate in contrarye partes, runne one againſte another enuyouſlye and fyercelye: and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeſhyppe, thruſte theire ſwordes one in another. And that for none other cauſe, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo ſo hyghlye regarde and eſteame, that they will eaſelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe-penye more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye they haue taken a ſmacke in couetefenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immedyatelye they ſpende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynſte all nations, bycauſe they geue them greatter wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they ſeke good men to vſe wel, ſo they ſeke theſe euell and vicious men to abuſe. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promiſſes of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great ieopardyes. From whens the mooſte parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aſke their rewardes. But to them that remaine aliue they paye yat which they promiſſed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themſelfes in like daunger another time. Nor ye Utopianes paſſe not how many of them they bring to deſtruction. For they beleue yat they ſhould doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ye worlde all that fowle ſtinking denne of that moſt wicked and curſed people. Next vnto thies they vſe ye ſoldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laſte of all, they ioyne to

theire oune citizens. Emong whome they giue to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, goouernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye. Vnder him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is ſauffe, be bothe priuate and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or ſlayne, the one of the other. ij. ſuccedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the ſeconde miſcarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaſte that (as the chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtful) the ieopardye or deathe of the capitaine ſhoulde brynge the whole armye in haſarde. They chueſe ſoldyours out of euery citye thoſe, whych putte furthe themſelffes wyllyngelye. For they thruſte no man forthe into warre agaynſte his wyll. Bycauſe they beleue, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym ſelfe, but alſo be occayſon of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynſte theire owne countreye, then they putt theſe cowardes (ſo that they be ſtronge bodyed) in ſhyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyſpoſe them vpon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for ſhame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycauſe they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame neceſſitye turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thruſt forthe of his countrey into warre againſte his wyll, ſo women that be wyllynge to accompany theire huſbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhorte them to it with prayſes. And in ſet fylde the wyues doo ſtande euerye one by theire owne huſbandes ſyde. Alſo euery man is compaſſed next aboute with his owne children, kinſſolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefely moueth to mutual ſuccoure, thus ſtandynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche, and diſhoneſty for the huſband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe withoute her huſbande, or the ſonne without his father.

And therfore if the other part ſticke ſo harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great ſlaughter and blodſhed, euen to the vtter deſtruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and ſhyftes that maye be to kepe themſelfes from the neceſſitye of fyghtinge, or that they may diſpatche the battell by their hiered ſoldyours: ſo when there is no remedy, but that they muſte neades fight themſelfes, they they do as corragiouſlye fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiſelye auoyde and refuſe it. Nor they be not moſt fierce at the firſt bront. But in continuaunce by litle and lytle theire fierce courage encreaſeth, with ſo ſtubborne and obſtynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyue back an ynche. For that ſuertye of lyuinge, whiche euerye man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire poſteritie ſhall lyue after them (for his penſifnes oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious ſtomakes) maketh them ſtowte and hardye, and diſdaineful to be conquered. Moreouer theire knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholeſome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euen from theire childhode, partely through learnynge, and partlye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of theire weale publique augmente and encreaſe theire manfull courage. By reaſon whereof they neither ſet ſo litle ſtore by their liues, that they will raſſhelye and vnaduiſedlye caſte them away: nor they be not ſo farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will ſhamefullye couete to kepe them, when honeſtie biddeth leaue them. When the battel is hotteſt and in al places moſt fierce and feruent, a bende of choſen and picked yong men, whiche be ſworne to liue and dye togethers, take vpon them to deſtroye theire aduerſaries capitaine. Whome they inuade now with priuy wieles, now by open ſtrength. At him they ſtrike both nere and farre of. He is aſſayled with a long and a con-

The capitane is chieflye to be pursued to th[e]intente the battell maye the soner be ended.

tinuall assaulte freshe men styll commynge in the weried mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he he saue hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prisoner, and yelded to his enemies aliue. If they wynne the fyelde, they persecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them aliue, then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursute of theire enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of theire hoste in battaile arraye vnder their standardes. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and ouercum fauing the rereward, and that they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced vnto themselfes more then ones: the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies reioysing in the victory haue persecuted them flying some one way and some another, a small companye of theire men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, haue sodainelye rysen vpon them thus dispersed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety vnaduisedly pursuing the chase: and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and vndouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in auoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleue it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceaue themselfes either ouermatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remoue their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceaue theire enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no lesse ieoperdie to medle with them when they geue backe, then when they preese on. They fence and

fortifie their campe fewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is caſt inward. Nor they do not ſet drudgeis and ſlaues a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the ſouldiours them ſelfes. All the whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for ſodeine auentures. Therefore by the labour of ſo manye a large trenche cloſinge in a greate compaſſe of grounde is made in leſſe tyme then anye man woulde beleue. Their armoure or harneys, whiche they weare, is ſure and ſtrong to receaue ſtrokes, and handſome for all mouinges and geſtures of the bodye, inſomuche that it is not vnweldye to ſwymme in. For in the diſcipline of theire wareſare amonge other feates thei learne to ſwimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they ſhote both ſtrongely and ſurelye, not onelye ſotemen, but alſo horſemen. At hande ſtrokes they vſe not ſwordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aſwel in ſharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe ſtrokes. Engines for warre they deuyſe and inuent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye ſecrete, leaſte yf they ſhoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they ſhould be but laughed at and ſerue to no purpoſe. Bnt in makynge them hereunto they haue chiefe reſpecte, that they be both eaſy to be caried, and handſome to be moued, and turned about.

Their armour.

Truce taken with their enemies for a ſhorte time they do ſo firmelye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waſte nor deſtroye theire enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp their corne. Yea, they ſaue it as muche as may be from being ouerrunne and troden downe either with men or horſes, thinkinge that it growethe for theire owne vſe and proffit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an eſpiall. All cities that be yelded vnto them, they defende. And ſuche as they wynne by force of aſſaulte, they neither diſpoyle nor ſacke, but them that withſtode and dyſſuaded the

Of truces.

yeldynge vp of the ſame, they put to deathe, the other ſouldiours they punnyſhe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they knowe that annye citezeins counſelled to yealde and rendre vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condemned mens goods. The reſydewe they diſtribute and giue frelye amonge them, whoſe helpe they had in ſame warre. For none of them ſelfes taketh any portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finiſhed and ended, they put theire frendes to neuer a penny coſte of al the charges that they were at, but laye it vpon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of theire expenſeis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like vſe of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuenues to be payde vnto them yearelye for euer. Suche reuenues they haue now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle ryſinge of dyuers and ſondry cauſes be increaſed aboue. vij. [ſeven] hundrethe thouſand ducates by the yere. Thether they ſende forth ſome of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, to liue there ſumptuouſly like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withſtandinge muche moneye is ſaued, which commeth to the commen treaſory: onles it ſo chaunce, that they had rather truſt ye countrey with the money. Which many times they do ſo long, vntil they haue nede to occupie it. And it ſeldome happeneth, that thei demaund al. Of theſe landes they aſſigne parte vnto them, which at their requeſt and exhortacion put themſelfes in ſuch ieoperdies, as I ſpake of before. If anye prince ſtirre vp warre agaynſte them, intending to inuade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre and ſtrengthe. For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be neuer broughte into ſo extreme neceſſitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne Ilande.

¶ Of the religions in Utopia.

THere be diuers kindes of religion not only in ſondrie partes of the Ilande, but alſo in diuers places of euery citie. Some worſhip for God the ſonne: ſome the mone: ſome, ſome other of the planettes. There be that giue worſhip to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but alſo as the chiefeſt and hygheſt God. But the moſte and the wyſeſt parte (reiectynge al theſe) beleue, that there is a certayne Godlie powre vnknowen, euerlaſtinge, incomprehenſible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and retche of mans witte, diſperſed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginninges, the encreaſinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geue any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea al ye other alſo, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wiſeſt ſorte, in beleuing that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they diſagree, that among ſome he is counted one, and amonge ſome an other. For euery one of them, whatſoeuer yat is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very ſame nature, to whoſe only diuine mighte and maieſtie, the ſumme and ſoueraintie of al thinges by the conſent of al people is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all begyn by litle and litle to forſake and fall from this varietie of ſuperſtitions, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche ſemethe by reaſon to paſſe and excell the reſidewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo haue bene aboliſhed, but that whatſoeuer vnproſperous thynge happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from GOD out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge, wouldie reuenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they heardie vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose blouide wyllinglye shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their feet: you will not beleue with howe gladde mindes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or eiles for that they thought it meghelk vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they hardie vs say, that Christ instituted among his al thinges common: and that the same [illegible] communitie doth yet remaine amongest the [illegible] righteist Christian companies. Verily howsoever it came to passe, manye of them consented together in our religion, and were washed in ye holy water of baptisme. But because among vs there (for no one of vs was left a lion, two of our companyes being dead) there was no priest, which I am right fayne for: they begge secrete and instructed in al other poynctes of our religion, bothe only those sacraments, whiche here were but possible do minister. Howbeit they [illegible] and perceiue them, and be very desirous of vs here. Yea, they reason and dispute vs matter [illegible] among themselues, whether without vs (mislyke of a Christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people) may receiue the order of priesthode. And [illegible] they were minded vs chose one. But al my companyes have been here [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

was baptiſed, began againſt our willes, with more earneſte affection, then wiſedome, to reaſon of Chriſtes religion: and began to waxe ſo hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but alſo did vtterly deſpiſe and condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and deueliſh, and the children of euerlaſtinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reaſoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accuſed him, and condempned him into exile, not as a deſpiſer of religion, but as a ſedicious perſon, and a raiſer vp of diſſention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncienteſt lawes amonge them: that no man ſhall be blamed for reſoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, euen at the firſte beginning, hearing yat the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall diſſention and ſtriſe amonge themſelues for their religions: perceyuing alſo that this common diſſention (whiles euery ſeuerall ſecte tooke ſeueral partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occaſion of his conqueſt ouer them al, aſſone as he had gotten the victory: Firſte of all he made a decree, that it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the beſt he could to bring other to his opinion, ſo that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly, and ſoberlie, without haſtie and contentious rebuking and inuehing againſt other. If he could not by faire and gentle ſpeche induce them vnto his opinion yet he ſhould vſe no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeaſaunte and ſeditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and feruentlye in this cauſe ſtriue and contende was decreed, baniſhment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he ſaw through continuall contention and mortal hatred vtterly extinguiſhed: but alſo becauſe he thought this decrie ſhould make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durſt define and determine nothing vnad-

Sedicious reſoners puniſhed.

uiſedlie, as douting whether god deſiering manifolde and diuerſe ſortes of honour, would inſpire ſondry men with ſondrie kindes of religion. And this ſuerly he thought a very vnmete and foliſh thing, and a point of arrogant preſumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the ſame, that thou beleueſt to be trew. Furthermore thoughe there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and ſuperſtitious, yet did he wel foreſee (ſo that the matter were handeled with reaſon, and ſober modeſtie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the laſt iſſue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe ſhould continuallye be vſed, as the woorſte men be mooſte obſtinate and ſtubbourne, and in their euyll opinion mooſte conſtante: he perceaued that then the beſte and holyeſt religion woulde be troden vnderſote and deſtroyed by moſt vaine ſuperſticions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouergrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte vndiſcuſſed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choiſe to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earneſtelye and ſtraitelye charged them, that no man ſhould conceaue ſo vile and baaſe an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the ſoules do die and periſhe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therfore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreamelye puniſhed and vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe aualed the heighe nature of hys ſoule to the vielnes of brute beaſtes bodies: muche leſſe in the numbre of their citiziens, whoſe lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al eſteeme. For you maye be ſuer that he will ſtudie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the

No vile opinion to be conceaued of mans worthy nature.

bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is depriued of all honours, excluded from all common adminiſtrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all ſortes deſpiſed, as of an vnprofitable, and of a baſe and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no puniſhment, becauſe they be perſuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what he liſt. No nor they conſtraine hym not with threatninges to diſſemble his minde, and ſhew countenaunce contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falſhod and all maners of lies, as nexte vnto fraude, they do marueloufliе deteſte and abhorre. But they ſuffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the commen people. For els aparte amonge the prieſtes and men of grauitie they do not onelye ſuffer, but alſo exhorte him to diſpute and argue: hoping that at the laſt, that madnes will geue place to reaſon. There be alſo other, and of them no ſmall numbre, which be not forbidden to ſpeake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion vpon ſome reaſon, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their hereſie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleue that the ſoules of brute beaſtes be immortall and euerlaſting. But nothynge to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predeſtinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certeinly and ſewerly that mans bleſſe ſhal be ſo great, that they do mourne and lament euery mans ſicknes, but no mans death oneles it be one whome they ſee depart from his life carefullie, and agaynſt his will. For this they take for a verye euel token, as thoughe the ſoule beynge in diſpaire, and vexed in conſcience, through ſome priuie and ſecret forefeiling of the puniſhement now at hande were aſerde to depart. And they thinke he ſhall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawen by force and ſore againſt his will. They therfore that ſee this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it,

Irreligious people secluded from all honours.

A very straung sayinge.

Deceit and falshod detested.

A maruelous straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes.

To die vnwillyngly an euel token.

and them that ſo die, they burie with ſorow and ſilence. And when they haue praied God to be mercifull to the ſoule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they couer the dead coorſe with earth. Contrariewiſe all that departe merely and ful of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerſe with ioyfull ſynging, commending the ſoules to God with great affection. And at the laſt, not with mourning ſorrow, but with a great reuerence they bourne the bodies. And in the ſame place they ſette vp a piller of ſtone, with the dead mans titles therin graued. When they be come home they reherſe his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is ſo oft or gladly talked of, as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently prouoke and enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleaſaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they ſuppoſe to be preſent among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eieſight of mortall men they be inuiſible. For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the bleſſed ſhoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate vnkindnes in them to haue vtterly caſt awaye the deſire of viſitinge and ſeing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increaſed then diminiſhed. They beleue therefore that the deade be preſentlye conuerſaunt amonge the quicke, as beholders and witneſſes of all their wordes and dedes. Therfore they go more corragiouſly to their buſines as hauing a truſt and affiaunce in ſuch ouerſeers. And this ſame beleſe of the preſent conuerſation of their foreſathers and auncetours among them, feareth them from all ſecrete diſhoneſtie. They vtterly deſpiſe and mocke ſothſayinges and diuinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and

A willing and a merye deathe not to be lamented.

Sothsayers not regarded nor credited.

all other diuinations of vaine ſuperſtition, whiche in other countreis be in greate obſeruation. But they highlye eſteme and worſhyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witneſſes of the preſente power of God. And ſuche they ſaye do chaunce there verye often. And ſometimes in great and doubtefull matters, by commen interceſſion and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a ſure hope and confidence, and a ſteadfaſt belefe.

Miracles.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayſe thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many ſo earneſtlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they paſſe no thing for lerning, nor geue their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they vtterly forſake and eſchue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obteined by buſie labors and good exerciſes. Some therfore of them attende vpon the ſicke, ſome amende high waies, clenſe ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, grauell, and ſtones, fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and ſerue not onelye in commen woorkes, but alſo in priuate laboures as ſeruauntes, yea, more then bondmen. For what ſo euer vnpleaſaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothſomnes, and deſperation doth fray other, al that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiete and reſt to other, remaininge in continual woorke and labour themſelues, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reproue other mens liues, nor glorie in theire owne. Theſe men the more ſeruiceable they behaue themſelues, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two ſectes. The one is of them that liue ſingle and chaſt, abſteining not onely from the companie of women, but alſo from eating of fleſhe, and ſome of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche vtterly reiecting the pleaſures of this preſent life as hurtfull, be all wholye ſet vpon the deſier of the lyfe to come by watchynge, and ſweatynge, hoop-

The life contemplatiue.

The life actiue.

inge shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie and lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisynge the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden duties towardes nature without labour and toyle, nor towardes their naine countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from laboure. They loue the flesh of foure footed beastes, bicause they beleue that by yat meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke.

It is not all one to be wise and good.

The Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded vpon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthresicas, the which word by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religion or religious men. They haue priestes of exceding holines, and therefore very few.

Priestes.

For there be but xiij. in euery citie accordinge to the number of their churches, sauyng when they go furthe to battell. For than. vij. of them goo furth with the armies: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre every one into his owne place, they that be aboue the numbre, vntill suche time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be by secrete voices for the auoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be ouerseers of al diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer iudges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontin-

ent liuing. But as it is their office to geue good exhortations and counſel, ſo is it ye dutie of the prince and the other magiſtrates to correct and puniſhe offenders, ſauing that the prieſtes, whome they find exceading vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing anye intereſt in diuine matters. And there is almoſte no puniſhement amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a ſecret feare of religion, and ſhall not long ſcape free with their bodies. For vnleſſe they by quicke repentaunce approue the amendement of their liues to the prieſtes, they be taken and puniſhed of the counſel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is inſtructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to inſtructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they vſe with verie great endeuour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conſeruation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the ſtate ot the commen welth. Whiche neuer decaieth but throughe vices risinge of euill opinions. The prieſtes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from prieſthoode, howbeit fewe be choſen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men prieſtes, I ſaye, take to their wifes the chiefeſt women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminince geuen. In ſo much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no commen iudgement, but be left only to god and themſelfes. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer ſo vitious, which after ſo ſingular a ſort was dedicate and conſecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they eaſelye obſerue, bicauſe they haue ſo ſewe prieſtes, and do chuſe them with ſuch circumſpec-

Excommunication.

Women prieſtes.

The maieſtie and preeminence of priestes.

tion. For it ſcaſely euer chaunceth, that the moſte vertuous amonge vertuous, which in reſpect only of his vertue is auaunced to ſo high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it ſhould chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reaſon they be ſo fewe, and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared yat anye great dammage by them ſhould happen and enſue to the commen wealthe. They haue ſo rare and ſewe prieſtes, leaſt if the honour were communicated to many, ye digniti of the ordre, which among them now is ſo highly eſtemed, ſhould rune in contempt. Speciallye bicauſe they thincke it hard to find many ſo good, as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and diſcharge whereof it is not ſufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore theſe prieſtes be not more eſtemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and ſtraunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke alſo yat this is the cauſe of it. For whiles ye armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beſide not farre of knele vpon their knees in their hallowed veſtimentes, holding vp their handes to heauen: praing firſt of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their hoſt gette the vpper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and restrayne their owne men from fleying and cruelly purſuinge theire vanquyſhed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but ſee them and ſpeake to them, it is ynoughe for the ſauegarde of theire lyues. And the touching of theire clothes defendeth and ſaueth al their gooddes from rauine and ſpoyle. This thinge hathe auaunced them to ſo greate wourſhip and trewe maieſty among al nations, that manye times they haue afwel preſerued theire own citizens from ye cruel force of their enemies, as they haue theire enemies from the furyous rage of theire owne men. For it is well knowen, that when theire owne army hathe reculed, and in dyſpayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemies fyerſlye purſuing

with ſlaughter and ſpoyle, then the prieſtes cumming betwene haue ſtayed the murder, and parted bothe the hoſtes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, ſo fierce, ſo cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in ſuche reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and ſanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched.

The obseruacion of holy daies amonge the Utopians

They kepe hollye the firſte and the laſte daye of euery moneth and yeare, diuydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they meaſure by the courſe of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the courſe of the ſonne. The fyrſte dayes they call in theire language Lynemernes, and the laſte Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeſte and finifeſt, or els in our ſpeache, firſt feaſte and laſt feaſt. Their churches be verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workemanſhip, but alſo (which in the fewenes of them was neceſſary) very wide and large, and hable to receaue a great company of people. But they be al ſumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they ſay, by the counſel of the prieſtes. Bicauſe they thought that ouer much light doth diſperſe mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earneſtly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which bicauſe it is not there of one ſort among all men, and yet all the kindes and faſſions of it, thoughe they be ſondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the diuine nature, as goyng diuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is ſene nor heard in ye churches, but that ſemeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a diſtinct kind of ſacrifice peculiar to anye ſeueral ſecte, that they execute at home in their owne houſes. The common ſacrifices be ſo ordered, that they be no derogation nor preiudice to anye of the priuate ſacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is ſeene in

Their churcheis

Churcheis of dimme light and a reason why

the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for euery man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes and ſimilitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the diuine maieſti whatſoeuer it be. No prayers bee vſed but ſuche as euerye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny ſecte. They come therefore to the churche, the laſte day of euerye moneth and yeare in the euenynge yet faſtinge, there to gyue thankes to GOD for that they haue proſperouſlye paſſed ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laſte daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and ſucceſſe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that ſame hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laſte dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiues fall downe proſtrat before theire huſbandes feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confeſſinge and acknowleginge themſelſes offenders either by ſome actuall dede, or by omiſſion of their deuty, and deſire pardon for their offenſe. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy diſpleaſure was riſen at home, by this ſatiſfaction it is ouerblowen, that they may be preſente at the ſacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled conſciences. Therefore if they knowe themſelſes to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they preſume not to come to ye ſacrifices, before they haue reconciled themſelſes and purged theire conſciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyſhemente for their offenſe. When they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte ſyde of the churche, and the women into the lefte ſyde. There they place themſelſes in ſuche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in euery houſhold ſitte before the goodman of ye houſe, and they of the female

The confession of the Utopians.

An order for places in the Churche.

kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forſene that all their geſtures and behauiours be marked and obſerued abrode of them by whoſe authority and diſcipline they be gouerned at home. This alſo they diligently ſee vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, leſt children beinge ioyned together, they ſhould paſſe ouer yat time in childiſh wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towardes god: which is the chieſte and almoſt ye only incitation to vertu. They kill no liuing beaſt in ſacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and ſlaughter, which hath geuen liſſe to beaſtes to the intent they ſhould liue. They burne franckenſence, and other ſweet ſauours, and light alſo a greate numbre of waxe candelles and tapers, not ſuppoſinge this geare to be any thing auaylable to the diuine nature, as neither ye prayers of men. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worſhip pleaſeth them. And by thies ſweet ſauoures and lightes, and other ſuch ceremonies men feele themſelfes ſecretlye lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people wearethe in the churche white apparell, The prieſt is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanſhipe bee excellent, but in ſtuffe not verye pretious. For theire veſtimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor ſet with precious ſtones. But they be wrought ſo fynely and conningelye with diuers fethers of foules, that the eſtimation of no coſtely ſtuffe is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in theſe birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obſerued in theire ſetting, they ſaye, is conteyned certaine diuine miſteries. The interpretation whereof knowen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the prieſtes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them: and of the loue and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God: and alſo of their deuties one towarde another. When the prieſt firſt

Ceremonies.

commeth out of the veſtry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with ſo ſtill ſilence on euerye part, that the very faſſion of the thinge ſtriketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there perſonally preſente. When they haue lien a litle ſpace on the ground, the prieſt geuethe them a ſigne for to ryſe. Then they ſing prayſes vnto God, whiche they intermixt with inſtrumentes of muſicke, for the moſte parte of other faſſions then theſe that we vſe in this parte of the worlde. And like as ſome of ours bee muche ſweter then theirs, ſo ſome of theirs doo farre paſſe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding farre beyonde vs. For all their muſike bothe that they playe vpon inſtrumentes, and that they ſinge with mannes voyce dothe ſo reſemble and expreſſe naturall affections, the ſound and tune is ſo applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the faſſion of the melodye dothe ſo repreſente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, ſtirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laſte the people and the prieſt together rehearſe ſolempne prayers in woordes, expreſlye pronounced, ſo made that euerye man maye priuatelye applye to hymſelfe that which is commonlye ſpoken of all. In theſe prayers euerye man recogniſethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, and the principal cauſe of all other goodnes, thankynge him for ſo many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moſte happye and welthye, and hathe choſen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moſte true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he deſierethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that

Theire churche musike.

Prayers.

is ready too followe what way ſoeuer he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and faſſion of a commen wealthe bee beſte, and his owne relygion moſt true and perfecte, then he deſyrethe GOD to gyue hym a conſtaunte ſtedefaſtnes in the ſame, and too brynge all other people to the ſame ordre of lyuynge, and to the ſame opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diuerſitye of religions dothe delite his vnſercheable pleaſure. To be ſhorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how ſoone or late that he dare not aſſynge or determine. Howebeit, if it myght ſtande with his maieſties pleaſure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and ſo to goo to God, then by longe lyuing in worldlye proſperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is ſaid they fal doune to the ground again and a lytle after they ryſe vp and go to dinner. And the reſydewe of the daye they paſſe ouer in playes, and exerciſe of cheualrye.

Nowe I haue declared and deſcribed vnto you, as truelye as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my iudgment is not only the beſte, but alſo that which alone of good right maye claime and take vpon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they ſpeake ſtil of the commen wealth. But euery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here where nothinge is priuate, the commen affaires bee earneſtlye loked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cauſe ſo to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he ſhall ſterue for honger, onles he make ſome ſeuerall prouiſion for himſelfe, though the commen wealthe floryſhe neuer ſo muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of verye neceſſitie to haue regarde to him ſelfe, rather then to the people, that is to ſaye, to other. Contrarywyſe there where all thinges be commen to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man ſhal lacke anye thinge neceſſary for his priuate vſes: ſo that the commen ſtore houſes and bernes be ſufficientlye ſtored.

For there nothinge is diſtributed aſter a nyggyſhe ſorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughe no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyue ioyfully and merely, without al griefe and penſifenes: Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his ſonne, nor ſorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuyng and wealthe of themſelfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the ſucceſſion that euer ſhall followe in theire poſteritie. And yet beſydes this there is no leſſe prouiſion for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I ſee, yf anye man dare bee ſo bolde as to compare with this equytie, the iuſtice of other nations. Among whom, I forſake God, if I can fynde any ſigne or token of equitie and iuſtice. For what iuſtice is this, that a ryche goldeſmythe, or an vſurer, or to bee ſhorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is ſuch, that it is not very neceſſary to the common wealth, ſhould haue a pleaſaunte and a welthie lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vnneceſſarye buſines: When in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronſmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by ſo greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearinge beaſtes be ſkant hable to ſuſteine, and againe ſo neceſſary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, ſhould yet get ſo harde and poore a lyuing, and lyue ſo wretched and miſerable a lyfe, that the ſtate and condition of the labouringe beaſtes maye ſeme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to ſoo continuall laboure, nor theire lyuinge is not muche worſe, yea to them muche pleaſaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane ſeaſon for the tyme to come. But theſe ſeilye poore wretches be preſently tormented

with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For theire dayly wages is ſo lytle, that it will not ſuffice for the ſame daye, muche leſſe it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyeſe of olde age. Is not this an vniuſt and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldſmythes, and to ſuche other, whiche be either ydle perſones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuyſers of vayne pleaſures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouiſion for poore plowmen, coliars, laborers, carters, yronſmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealthe can continewe? But after it hath abuſed the labours of theire luſty and flowring age, at the laſte when they be oppreſſed with olde age and ſyckenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng theire ſo manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their ſo manye and ſo greate benefites, recompenſeth and acquyteth them moſte vnkyndly with myſerable death. And yet beſides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but alſo by commen lawes do euery day pluck and ſnatche awaye from the poore ſome parte of their daily liuing. So where as it ſemed before vniuſte to recompenſe with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong and vniuſte dealinge (which is yet a muche worſe pointe) geuen the name of iuſtice, yea and that by force of a law. Therfore when I conſider and way in my mind all theſe commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do floriſh, ſo god helpe me, I can perceaue nothing but a certein conſpiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth. They inuent and deuiſe all meanes and craftes, firſt how to kepe ſafely, without feare or leſing, that they haue vniuſtly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuſe the worke and laboure of the poore for as litle money as may be. Theſe deuiſes, when the

ſeiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the reſpecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the authority of oure ſauioure Chriſte (which for his great wiſdom could not but know what were beſt, and for his ineſtimable goodnes could not but counſel to that which he knew to be beſt) wold haue brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wer not yat one only beaſt, ye princeſſe and mother of all miſchiefe Pride, doth withſtande and let it. She meaſurethe not wealth and proſperity by her owne commodities, but by the miſerie and incommodities of other, ſhe would not by her good will be made a goddeſſe, yf there were no wretches left, ouer whom ſhe might like a ſcorneful ladie rule and triumph, ouer whoſe miſeries her felicities mighte ſhyne, whoſe pouertie ſhe myghte vexe, tormente, and encreaſe by gorgiouſlye ſettynge furthe her richeſſe. Thys hell hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is ſo depely roted in mens breſtes, that ſhe can not be plucked out. This fourme and faſhion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wiſh vnto al nations: I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which haue folowed thoſe inſtitutions of life, whereby they haue laid ſuch foundations of their common wealth, as ſhal continew and laſt not only wealthely, but alſo as far as mans wit may iudge and coniecture, ſhall endure for euer. For, ſeyng the chiefe cauſes of ambition and ſedition, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domiſticall diſſention, whiche alone hathe caſte vnder foote and brought to noughte the well fort[i]ſied and ſtronglie defenced wealthe and riches of many cities. But foraſmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholſome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al forein princes be not hable to ſhake or moue the empire, though they haue many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng euermore driuen backe.

A maruelous sayinge.

Pryde.

Thus when Raphael haddde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my minde, which in the maners and lawes of that people seemed to be instituted and ordered of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their chevalry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and livynge without any occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge melye all nobilitie, magnificence, worshippe, honour and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, weryde be overthrowen and destroied: yet because I knew that he was wery of talkyng, and was not sure whether he could abide that anye thynge shoulde be farde against his mynde: specially remembryngge that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be afterde lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inventions: therfore I praisyng both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: sayinge that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.

¶ To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost Arienn, and counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.

THomas More the ſingular ornamente of this our age, as you your ſelf (right honourable Buſlide) can witneſſe, to whome he is perfectly wel knowen, ſent vnto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knowen, but moſt worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, all people ſhoulde be willinge to know: ſpecially of a man moſt eloquent ſo fincly ſet furth, ſo conningly painted out, and ſo euidently ſubiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I ſee ſomwhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himſelfe (for I was preſent at that talke aſwell as maſter More) vtteryng and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the ſame man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did ſo open and declare the matter, that he might plainely enough appeare, to reporte not thinges, which he had learned of others onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes preſently ſene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no ſmal time bene conuerſant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche paſſinge, yea euen they very famous and renowmed trauailer Vlyſſes: and in dede ſuche a one, as for the ſpace of theſe viij. c. [eight hundred] yeres paſt I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in compariſon of whome Veſpuce maye be thought to haue ſene nothing. Moreouer, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expreſſe thinges that we haue ſene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was beſides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and ſingular dexteritie to diſcriue and ſet furth a matter withall. Yet the ſelfe ſame thinges as ofte as I beholde and con-

ſider them drawen and painted oute with maſter Mores penſille, I am therwith ſo moued, ſo delited, ſo inflamed, and ſo rapt, that ſometime me think I am preſently conuerſaunt, euen in the ylande of Utopia. And I promiſe you, I can ſkante beleue that Raphael himſelfe by al that fiue yeres ſpace that he was in Utopia abiding, ſaw there ſomuch, as here in maſter Mores deſcription is to be ſene and perceaued. Whiche deſcription with ſo manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is repleniſhed, that I ſtande in great doubt wherat firſt and chiefſie to muſe or marueile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and ſuer memorie, which could welniegh worde by woorde rehearſe ſo manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his ſingular prudence, who ſo well and wittyly marked and bare away al the originall cauſes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commenly moſt vnknowen) wherof both yſſueth and ſpringeth the mortall confuſion and vtter decaye of a commen wealth, and alſo the auauncement and wealthy ſtate of the ſame may rieſe and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his woordes, which in ſo fine a latin ſtile, with ſuche force of eloquence hath couched together and compriſed ſo many and diuers matters, ſpeciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with ſo manye buſye and troubleſome cares, both publique, and priuate, as he is. Howbeit all theſe thinges cauſe you litle to maruell (righte honourable Buſlid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almoſt diuine witte of the man. But nowe to procede to other matters, I ſuerly know nothing nedeful or requiſite to be adioyned vnto his writinges: Onely a meter of. iiij. verſes written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after maſter Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce ſhewed me, that haue I cauſed to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the ſame nation, and haue alſo garniſhed the margent of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the ſituation of the ylande, that is to ſaye, in what parte of the worlde Utopia ſtandeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not

a litle troubleth and greueth maſter More, in dede Raphael left not that vnſpoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by ye way paſſing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reſerue that to an other place. And the ſame, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie chaunce eſcaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was ſpeaking therof, one of maſter Mores ſeruauntes came to him, and whiſpered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpoſe more earneſtly addict to heare, one of the company, by reaſon of cold taken, I thinke, a ſhippeborde, coughed out ſo loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer ſtynte, nor reſt, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: inſomuche that I will be hable perfectly to inſtructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but alſo in the iuſt latitude therof, that is to ſay, in the ſubleuation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in ſafetie, and aliue. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney homeworde. Some agayne affirme, that he retorned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the faſhions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether ſet and fixed vpon Utopia, they ſay that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient coſmographers, this doubte Hythloday himſelfe verie well diſſolued. For why it is poſſible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they neuer had knowledge of this iland: foraſmuch as now in our time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were vnknowen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, ſeynge maſter More is author hereof ſufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both commende, and alſo knowledge the

mannes modeſtie. Howbeit vnto me it ſemeth a worke moſt vnworthie to be long ſuppreſſed, and moſt worthy to go abrod into ye handes of men, yea, and vnder the title of youre name to be publyſhed to the worlde: either becauſe the ſingular endowmentes and qualities of maſter More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicauſe no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counſelles to further, and auaunce the commen wealth, wherin you haue many yeares already continued and trauailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wiſedome and knowledge, and alſo of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall ſupporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time I byd you moſte hartely well to fare. At Antwerpe .1516. the firſt daye of Nouember.

A meter of .iiij. verses in the Utopian tongue, briefely touchinge aswell the straunge beginning, as also the happie and wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe.

VTopos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan ſoma g ymnoſophaon.
Agrama g ymnoſophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.

¶ Whiche verſes the tranſlator, accordinge to his ſimple knowledge, and meane vnderſtanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely engliſhed.

MY kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
A prince of much renowme and immortall fame
Hath made me an yle that earſt no ylande was,
Ful fraight with worldly welth with pleaſure and ſolas.
I one of all other without philoſophie
Haue ſhaped for man a philoſophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
So better to receaue I am readie with al my harte.

¶ A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Nythlodaye by his sister.

ME Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and paſſe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted brieſely
In naked wordes, as in a glaſſe,
The ſame haue I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treaſure fyttely.
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.

DOth pleaſure pleaſe? then place the here, and well the reſt,
Moſt pleaſaunt pleaſures thou ſhalte finde here.
Doeth profit eaſe? then here arriue, this yle is beſt.
For paſſinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldeſt thou gripe both gaine and pleaſure?
This yle is fraight with both bounteouſly.
To ſtill thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treas-
Bothe minde and tongue to garniſhe richelie. [ure
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
Thou haſt them here ſubiect vnto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
Geue to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

¶ Cornelius Graphey to Reader.

VVilt thou knowe what wonders ſtraunge be in the lande that late was founde? [godly be?
Wilte thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers ways that
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderſtande the very grounde? [vanitie?
Wilt thou ſee this wretched world, how ful it is of

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